

From Horsemen to Hoplites

Some Remarks on Archaic Greek Warfare

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Abstract

*In the present article, I argue that the horse was originally an integral part of the accoutrement of the heavy-armed warrior (the so-called 'hoplite'). In particular, I draw attention to the double-grip or Argive shield. I attempt to demonstrate that this type of shield was specifically developed for use by men who rode to the battlefield on horseback, the so-called hippobatai. As such, this article resurrects a hypothesis originally suggested by Detienne in 1968, namely that the hoplites of the Classical period find their origins in the mounted infantry of the Archaic age.**

INTRODUCTION

The reader may well roll his or her eyes at seeing yet another article on hoplite warfare. So much ink has been spent on discussing the origins and nature of the hoplite phalanx that the reader may well have come to believe that there is nothing left to write about. Some scholars perhaps feel that the article written by Lorimer in 1947 more or less said everything on the subject that there was to say. The influence of that particular paper is felt to this day, despite attempts at creating a more varied, less monolithic history of Greek warfare.¹ The ideas espoused by Lorimer have had a profound impact on two generations of Classical scholars. The prevailing notions regarding ancient Greek warfare have become so ingrained that one can refer to these traditional views as an 'orthodoxy'.² The main characteristics of this orthodoxy are described below.

This article has been divided into five sections. The purpose of the current section is to provide a brief overview of the main developments in Greek warfare during the Geometric and Archaic ages. The orthodox interpretation of these developments in particular features prominently in this brief survey. The second section discusses Greenhalgh's important book on horsemen and chariots in the Homeric epics and during the Archaic period. The third section provides a survey of the iconographic evidence for mounted warriors, drawing heavily on Greenhalgh's work and adding some further comments. In particular, I shall discuss more fully the equipment used by the mounted warriors, in particular the cuirass and the shield. In the fourth section, I shall try to place the *hippobatai* in context and examine the literary evidence, in particular the works of the so-called lyric poets. The fifth and

concluding section briefly summarises the main points made in this article.

I wish to re-examine some of the developments in Greek warfare during the 7th century BC. I believe that some of the elements long considered to have been typical of infantry warfare were actually developed specifically for use by men who spent much of their time on horseback. Thus, this article in a way resurrects an idea first postulated by Detienne in 1968, who suggested that the first hoplite phalanxes may well have been mounted.³ Because of the emphasis put on mounted warriors, the article also extends, and to a certain degree revises parts of, the well-known book written by Greenhalgh on early Greek chariots and horsemen. It also incorporates some of the suggestions made by Anderson and Snodgrass to arrive at what I hope to be an overview of the developments in Archaic Greek warfare that better incorporates all of the available evidence than has hitherto been the case.



Fig. 1. Warrior with Dipylon shield on chariot, from a Late Geometric Attic krater (drawn after Greenhalgh 1973, 33 fig. 26).

In Geometric vase-painting, many fighters use shields that are round, rectangular, or of the so-called 'Dipylon' variety (i.e. round with scallops cut out of the sides); see figure 1.4 Swords rather than thrusting spears tend to be used in close-ranged fighting. The relatively short length of spears in Geometric art suggests that most were presumably thrown (javelins). Evidence from graves indicates that swords were perhaps the most important weapons for Geometric warriors. However, at least some of the spearheads recovered from tombs are obviously too massive to have been thrown.⁵ In many instances, Geometric warriors may well have used a combination of thrusting-spears (lances) and throwing-spears (javelins).⁶ Cavalry as a separate arm apparently did not yet exist in this period,⁷ but the ultra-rich used chariots as a kind of 'individual taxi-service',⁸ in the manner of the Homeric heroes. It should be stressed that there is nothing inherently implausible about the Geometric (or indeed Homeric) use of the chariot.⁹ Furthermore, the evidence suggests that the chariot remained in use on the battlefield throughout the 7th and 6th centuries BC,¹⁰ although perhaps not on a scale comparable to that of the 8th. In any event, chariots disappear from the battlefield toward the start of the 5th century BC.¹¹

In the final quarter of the 8th century BC, a new type of warrior appeared, referred to as 'hoplite' by modern scholars. The orthodoxy holds that this type of warrior dominated the Greek battlefield down to Classical times. The hoplite was an infantryman equipped with metal body-armour (greaves and a cuirass), a helmet, and a thrusting-spear. A sword was used when the spear was shattered during combat. But the defining characteristic of the hoplite was his large, round, and hollow shield. Earlier shields were equipped with a single hand-grip at the centre, but this new type of shield, also called an 'Argive' shield,¹² featured a double grip. At the centre it had a band (*porpax*) through which the left arm was thrust up to the elbow; near the rim was a handle (*antilabē*) that could be grasped by the left hand. Thus, the weight of the Argive shield was distributed across the arm and shoulder, rather than concentrated at the hand and wrist. It is this type of shield that has dominated much of the thinking on how hoplites supposedly operated.

The origins of this type of shield are shrouded in mystery. The Greeks claimed it to have been a Karian invention, but this is unlikely to be true.¹³ In any event, Lorimer claims that the shield was referred to as a *hoplon* 'in the language of everyday'.¹⁴ This erroneous assumption has found its

way in many books and articles. Only fairly recently has an article appeared in which Lazenby and Whitehead finally dispel this notion.¹⁵ The ancient Greeks, from Homer onwards, used the term *hoplon* (and its plural, *hopla*) to refer to (pieces of) armour and weapons in general; the principal Greek word for shield was *aspis*. Indeed, the word hoplite itself had not at all the specific meaning that modern scholarship has attached to it. To the ancients, a *hoplite* was simply a 'heavy-armed warrior'. Indeed, Xenophon could refer to Egyptian soldiers equipped with shields as 'hoplites'.¹⁶

Lorimer also suggested that the Argive shield's 'range of movement was extremely restricted'.¹⁷ Because of this, the hoplite fought in a tightly-knit formation referred to as the *phalanx*.¹⁸ This notion is central to orthodox thinking on Greek warfare. The word *phalanx*, or related forms of it, are attested in Homer,¹⁹ as well as in Tyrtaios and some other literary sources,²⁰ where it is used to refer to a 'battle-line' or, more generally perhaps, a group of fighters.²¹ However, it did not refer to any specific formation until the time of Philip II of Macedonia and his son, Alexander.²² The phalanx was supposedly rigid and existed only by virtue of all the men holding their position. According to the orthodoxy, when opposing phalanxes met in pitched battle, a shoving and pushing (*ôthismos*) resulted, and when finally one phalanx broke through the enemy lines the battle was essentially over.²³ The orthodoxy holds that the Greeks conceived of battle as a ritualised contest, an *agôn*. This rather stylised way of fighting as proposed by adherents to the orthodoxy has been rightly criticised by a growing number of other scholars, the so-called 'heretics'.²⁴

The basis for this interpretation of the Greek style of fighting is supposedly found in a passage in Thucydides' *History of the Peloponnesian War* (5.71). However, Thucydides refers to this tightly-knit formation only when he describes how the typical army of his own day advanced. Earlier in the same book, Thucydides writes that the Spartans advanced slowly and deliberately to the music of flute-players (5.70). He mentions that this custom was 'designed to make them keep in step and move forward steadily without breaking ranks, as large armies often do when they are just about to join battle' (*ibidem*).²⁵ That last remark suggests that even in the later 5th century BC, most battles apparently consisted of a mêlée between combatants, a mass of individual duels, rather than a concerted shoving or pushing (*ôthismos*) between opposing, rigid phalanxes, as the orthodoxy would have us believe.²⁶ Indeed, one can argue that in

many instances use of the verb 'to shove' in our ancient sources may have been metaphorical rather than literal.²⁷

According to the orthodoxy, the hoplite panoply, especially the shield, was somehow unwieldy or otherwise stimulated the development of the phalanx and, by extension, this ritualised way of fighting. The scholars who formulated this rather stylised way of fighting found their share of detractors quite early on.²⁸ In more recent years, it has been Peter Krentz and Hans van Wees in particular who have criticised this interpretation of the evidence,²⁹ and they have been found support among a few other writers.³⁰ They reject the notion of the hoplite panoply stimulating the development of the closed phalanx; there is, indeed, nothing about the helmet or shield that would preclude hoplites to fight in a more open, fluid manner.³¹ Krentz sums up this point succinctly in the abstract to one of his most recent contributions, saying 'that the ideology of hoplite warfare as a ritualized contest developed not in the 7th century, but only after 480, when nonhoplite arms began to be excluded from the phalanx. [...] Archaic Greeks probably fought according to the limited protocols found in Homer.'³² This means that warfare in the Archaic period was characterised by "'mass" fighting, but not "massed" fighting.'³³ Thus, for much of the 8th to 6th centuries BC - and arguably the 5th as well - we have an image of warfare in which formations were apparently used solely when advancing and perhaps for defensive purposes;³⁴ the actual battles were disorganised affairs, consisting of a multitude of duels and engagements between individuals, 'one-on-one, two-on-one, three-on-two,'³⁵ and so on.³⁶

In short, the two most important terms that are used nowadays to define Greek warfare in the Archaic and Classical periods - 'hoplite' and 'phalanx' - are, in fact, modern constructs. They imply differences between the Geometric and Archaic modes of fighting that perhaps never existed. Snodgrass, in the 1999-afterword to his *Arms and Armour of the Greeks*, originally published in 1967, mentions new research in which it is (rightly) claimed that the masses in Homer are more important in the fighting than has hitherto been assumed. However, he opposes the assertion 'that these armed masses did not significantly differ from the hoplite armies of the later historical period', because 'then the revolution in tactics' - the so-called hoplite 'reform' - 'would be both less abrupt and distinctly earlier in date,' than is usually claimed.³⁷ Indeed, I would contend, as others have,³⁸ that there likely never was a 'revolution'

in Greek warfare. Furthermore, I believe that the style of fighting from at least Geometric times down to the Classical period remained largely the same, namely open and fluid.

It is important to stress that the ancient Greeks themselves were far from consistent in their terminology. It would therefore be a mistake to attach too specific a meaning to ancient Greek words like *hoplite* or *phalanx*. Hence, certain questions, such as whether or not Homer in some passages describes a 'hoplite phalanx', are in my opinion essentially pointless. To expand on this example, most of the princes (*basileis*) in the Homeric epics fight as 'spearmen' (*aichmêtês*),³⁹ not as 'hoplites'. I believe we should therefore discuss Archaic Greek warfare on its own terms, however vague or unsatisfactory modern scholars may believe the ancient terminology to be. In the end, we should try to approximate the truth as closely as possible without trying to shoehorn the evidence into our modern conceptual frameworks.

GREENHALGH'S HORSEMEN AND CHARIOTS

One should also consider the context in which modern scholars operate. Greenhalgh's important book on horsemen and chariots in Homer as well as in the Archaic period (roughly the 8th to 6th centuries BC) was published in 1973. In the seventies, the orthodoxy ruled supreme, and we find in Greenhalgh's work frequent allusions to the hoplite phalanx. Homer was thought to incorporate Mykenian elements in an attempt to archaïse his poems. Furthermore, the period between about 1200 and 800 BC was also considered to have been a true 'Dark Age'. Archaeology has in the meantime shed quite some light on this period. Finds from Lefkandi and elsewhere have shown that this age was not at all as debased as was once thought.

In any event, Greenhalgh has assembled much of the available evidence on horsemen and chariots and produced a detailed synthesis of the collected material. In his book, he examines the Homeric epics and a large number of vase-paintings. He concludes that the use of the chariot as a glorified battlefield-taxi is largely nonsensical, and must therefore be a deliberate attempt at archaïsing or heroising the epics.⁴⁰ As a solution to this 'problem', Greenhalgh suggests that Homer had in mind the mounted warriors of his own time, but replaced the horse by the chariot to indicate to his listeners that the story he tells is an ancient one, in which heroes did not ride on horseback but instead used chariots to transport themselves to the battlefield.



Fig. 2. Mykenaian chariot; fragments of a Late-Helladic-IIIIC krater found at Tiryns (drawn after Vermeule/Karageorghis 1982 plate XI.16).



Fig. 3. Detail of an Early Protokorinthis aryballos by the Evelyn Painter (drawn after Shanks 1999, 76 fig. 3.3).

Greenhalgh is undoubtedly correct in attaching great value to the use of the horse in combat. He suggests that 'The horse's role in transporting the warrior to and from the battlefield and for pursuit and flight continued to be valuable in hoplite warfare as in the earlier style, and Helbig was right to speak of earlier aristocracies of knights as mounted footsoldiers.'⁴¹ However, after the introduction of phalanx-tactics, Greenhalgh argues, the war-horse 'could only be used for transporting him [the hoplite] behind the lines, and for pursuit and flight.'⁴² This idea stems from the (orthodox) assumption that horses and hoplites cannot mix freely when on the battlefield, since the phalanx is thought to be a tightly-knit formation.

Furthermore, Greenhalgh argues that while the Argive shield 'was not impossibly ill adapted to the unorganized warfare of the javelin era [...] it did nothing to encourage the development of the phalanx, to which it was *certainly* better adapted.'⁴³ He goes on to add that the Argive 'shield had one aspect which I believe prompted the development of the phalanx, [...] that the shield covers not only the left side of its bearer but also the right side of the man next to him.'⁴⁴ Greenhalgh claims that since the shield could not be easily slung round to protect the back (unlike the earlier single-grip shields), it ultimately led to the development of the phalanx.⁴⁵ In short, the new tactics prevented hoplites from riding into battle as had been possible in the older style of fighting.

Greenhalgh's suggestion that chariots in Homer and Geometric art are deliberate attempts at archaism or heroism is not entirely convincing. He may be echoing Snodgrass in this regard, as he too believed that the use of chariots in Homer as well as the Geometric painted scenes were deliberately archaism: 'It is far more reasonable to assume that both Homer and the Geometric artist were vague about the real use of chariots in war.'⁴⁶ Hence, Snodgrass assumes, like Greenhalgh later does, that the Geometric and Homeric warriors 'actually' rode horses rather than used chariots, obviously because the way that the chariot is used in the original sources is not deemed 'proper'. There is, however, nothing inherently improbable about the Homeric use of the chariot, as Anderson has shown.⁴⁷ Indeed, chariots were apparently used to transport heavy-armed warriors to the battlefield during the Late-Helladic-IIIIC-period, as figure 2 illustrates.⁴⁸

Furthermore, I disagree with Greenhalgh that the adoption of phalanx tactics slowly reduced the role of the horse in the 7th century.⁴⁹ It seems very likely to me that fighting remained open and fluid down to the 5th century at least. It seems probable, therefore, that horses continued to be ridden into battle; some of the ultra-rich may even have continued to use chariots.⁵⁰ Nevertheless, despite these criticisms much of Greenhalgh's book remains useful, and an attempt is made in the next section to incorporate his data as well as the comments made by a few other authors to create a revised

overview of the developments in (early) Archaic Greek warfare, which I believe to correspond better with all of the available evidence. Central to this re-assessment of the evidence is the purpose of the Argive shield. Just why did the Greeks create this large, double-grip type of shield? I believe we can arrive at an answer by looking more closely at the mounted warriors of the late 8th and 7th centuries BC.

THE ICONOGRAPHIC EVIDENCE

The iconographic evidence for mounted warriors and chariots will be briefly surveyed in the present section. In Corinth, a new style of vase-painting developed in the final quarter of the 8th century that was very different from the Geometric styles popular in Athens and elsewhere. An Early Proto-korinthian vase (no later than ca 700 BC), attributed to the Evelyn painter, depicts a warrior on foot walking behind a youth on horseback (fig. 3). This is the earliest known depiction of the motif of the 'knight and squire', one that remains popular in the Greek world throughout the 7th and 6th centuries BC.

An aryballos of the Early Ripe Corinthian period (last quarter of the 7th century BC) again depicts a warrior on foot behind a mounted youth (fig. 4). This time, however, the two figures are named. The warrior is called a *hippobatas* or 'horse-fighter'; his squire is referred to as a *hippostrophos*

or 'horse-turner'.⁵¹ These *hippobatai* and *hippostrophoi* are also represented in the iconography of other regions, from Lakonia to Athens (see section IV). In some scenes, the squire is omitted; in others, the outline of a second horse is visible behind the one used by the *hippobatas*. The *hippobatai* are often shown in scenes depicting single combat. In such scenes, two dismounted *hippobatai* fight each other with thrusting spears (never swords); their mounted squires, often depicted holding the reins of their masters' horses, are usually present on either side of the battle.⁵²

This much is presumably known by anyone familiar with Greenhalgh's book. I should, however, like to draw attention to the equipment used by the *hippobatai*, and in particular the bell-shaped cuirass and the Argive shield. The bell-shaped cuirass, so called because of its distinctive shape, was made of bronze and consisted of two halves; one covering the chest, the other the back. These two plates were hinged on one side and fastened with buckles on the other. Snodgrass was perhaps the first to suggest that the bell-shaped cuirass was developed specifically for use by horsemen.⁵³ The design of this type of cuirass allows the wearer to sit on one's haunches,⁵⁴ as well as ride comfortably on horseback.⁵⁵ It is surprising, however, that few authors have drawn any conclusions from these facts, and that most are content to consider it primarily as a piece of armour worn by infantrymen, pure and simple.



Fig. 4. Detail of an Early Ripe Corinthian aryballos: *hippobatas* and *hippostrophos* (drawn after Alföldi 1967, 14 fig. 1).



Fig. 5. Detail of an Early Ripe Corinthian aryballos: warrior leaping from his horse (drawn after Greenhalgh 1973, 87 fig. 48).



Fig. 6. A terracotta shield of the early fifth century, found in the Korinthian Kerameikos (drawn after Newhall 1931, plate II).

The Argive shield, it seems to me, was also developed specifically for use by mounted troops. As far as I am aware, this suggestion has not been made before. Only Anderson at one time specifically asked, 'Was the shield ever intended for mounted action?'⁵⁶ He proceeded to answer this question in the negative, following Helbig, and then argued that Argive shields would normally be slung behind one's back when not in use. This would, however - and as rightly pointed out by Greenhalgh - have been impossible to do while on horseback, since the large shield would chafe and bounce off the horse's hindquarters when moving.⁵⁷ Argive shields are apparently only slung behind the back when a warrior takes control of a chariot. Such depictions are relatively uncommon, and most - as far as I can tell - date to the 6th century BC.⁵⁸

The Argive shield, with its *porpax* and *antilabê*, would have been less strenuous to carry around than the older single-grip shields. The Argive shield was worn on the left arm, and because it was hollow it could also be supported by the shoulder. This means that when carried on the left arm the shield would be on the left side of both horse and rider, exactly as depicted on Archaic vases, without chafing or hurting the animal. It also provided the *hippobatas* with a measure of safety from enemy weapons, particularly if he approached the enemy line at an oblique angle, keeping the unshielded side away from enemy missiles. Depictions of *hippobatai* on horseback

show them to be fully armed and combat-ready; all they need do is approach the enemy and leap from their horses, while their squires take hold of the reins and move the animals to safety.

There are a few depictions that indicate that *hippobatai* sometimes did not leap from their horses until they were within easy reach of the enemy. An Early Ripe Corinthian aryballos from Perachora is discussed by Greenhalgh, who calls it an 'extraordinarily clumsy drawing', the product of a 'poor' artist (fig. 5).⁵⁹ It depicts a *hippobatas* holding his spear overhead; both his legs are drawn clearly. He is facing another warrior, approaching from the left. The scene probably depicts the start of a violent encounter. Greenhalgh suggests that it might possibly be a depiction of a heavy-armed warrior fighting from horseback, but adds that it might just as well show the warrior dismounting. Only the latter interpretation seems to me correct, since the two figures are too far apart to be fighting already and both legs of the dismounting figure are clearly drawn. Anderson also believed that the figure was dismounting.⁶⁰

A very similar, although much later, depiction of a dismounting *hippobatas* is found on a terracotta relief shield unearthed in the Korinthian Kerameikos in the 1920s (fig. 6). The shield itself is clearly of Argive type and has been dated to the early 5th century BC. It has a carefully crafted relief 'blazon' that shows a *hippobatas* leaping from his horse. The image is comparable to that of the aryballos, except that it is better made. The only thing



Fig. 7. Detail of a 6th-century Attic black-figure vase with dismounting warrior (drawn after Greenhalgh 1973, 120 fig. 62).

lacking is the spear, but this omission might be attributed to the complexity of the composition (explaining perhaps, why the scene on the aryballos is so 'clumsy'). The difficulty in portraying such a dynamic scene might also explain its rarity in early Greek art. Nevertheless, a few other examples are known, some of which are Attic and usually date to the 6th century BC.⁶¹ One example, also included in Greenhalgh's study,⁶² is illustrated in figure 7.

The way that these warriors leap from the backs of their horses itself is informative. Nowadays, it is standard practice to mount a horse by grabbing hold of the saddle or of the point where the horse's neck meets the shoulder, putting the foot in one stirrup, and then pulling one's self up, swinging the other leg over the horse's hindquarters. Dismounting is generally done by performing the same manoeuvre in reverse. The ancient Greeks, of course, knew no stirrups, and most Greek horsemen apparently rode bareback (sometimes a saddle cloth was used).⁶³ In mounting and dismounting, the modern-day rider always faces the side of the horse and exposes his back. Yet, in the scenes discussed in this section, the *hippobatai*, when dismounting, always face away from the horse. In other words, the dismounted *hippobatas* is battle-ready and facing his opponent the moment his

feet touch the ground. The warriors presumably achieve this by swinging one leg over the horse's neck or head. The lack of stirrups means that the shift in weight allows the rider to slide off the side of the horse or, perhaps with a gentle push, leap from the horse's back in the manner depicted on the monuments.

In short, this evidence suggests that at least some *hippobatai* did not dismount until they were very close to the enemy. One imagines them riding into battle, accompanied by their squires (and perhaps followers), dismounting only when they are perhaps a few yards away from their opponent. The multitude of vase-paintings depicting duels might even suggest that a *hippobatas* could ride out to meet his (mounted) opponent and issue a formal challenge,⁶⁴ after which both would dismount for combat, while their squires took their horses and stood back, perhaps observing the battle in the manner depicted on Corinthian vases. Of course, such practices would be hazardous if either side used a large number of archers or other missile troops, explaining perhaps the pact made by the combatants in the so-called Lelantine War, which specifically prohibited the use of missiles.⁶⁵

It is perhaps useful to compare the depictions of *hippobatai* to those involving war-chariots. In the Geometric period, many warriors depicted on

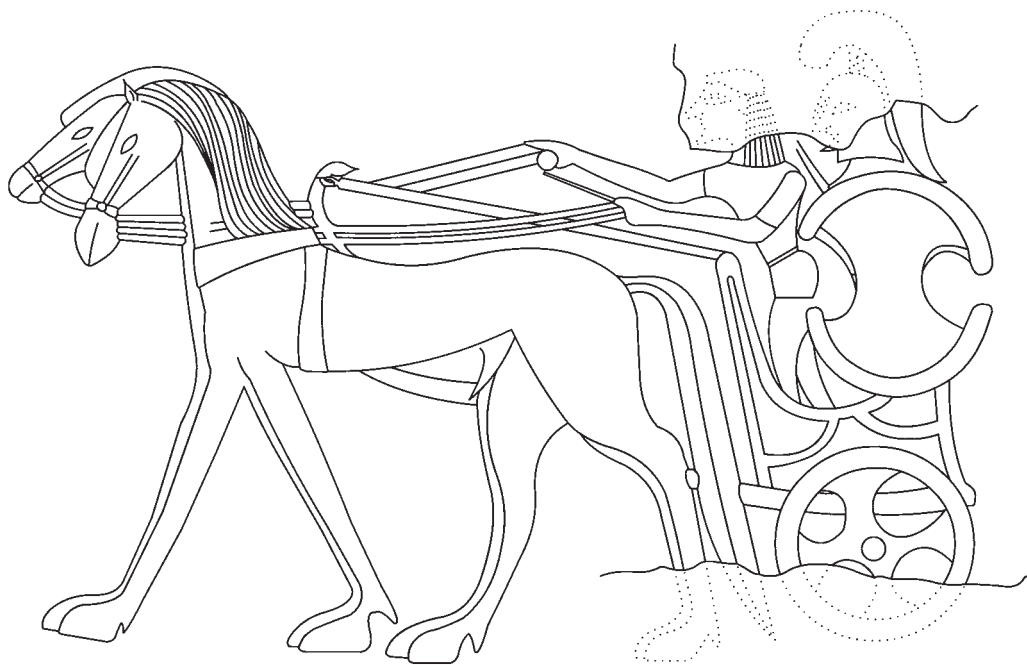


Fig. 8. Detail of a relief pithos from Naxos depicting a chariot (660-650 BC); note Boiotian shield (drawn after Simantoni-Bournia 1990, plate 7).

chariots are equipped with shields, generally of the Dipylon-variety, slung behind their backs.⁶⁶ Usually, there is no room in Geometric painted scenes to depict a separate charioteer. From the 7th century BC onwards, however, new styles in figurative art allow for greater detail. A relief vase from Naxos (dated to 660-650 BC), for example, depicts a chariot with an unarmed youth for a charioteer and a warrior next to him equipped with a Dipylon-shield or its double-grip variant, the Boiotian shield (fig. 8).⁶⁷ Depictions of warriors equipped with Argive shields stepping onto a chariot are known from the 6th century BC onwards.⁶⁸ A Boiotian figurine from the 5th century depicts a driver with an old-style Dipylon-shield slung behind his back, accompanied by a warrior with an Argive shield.⁶⁹ Since the *hippobatai* are invariably depicted with Argive shields, this appears to support the idea that the Argive shield was specifically developed to be easy to carry on horseback.

We can securely date the appearance of the first *hippobatai* to the last quarter of the 8th century based on the aryballos by the Evelyn Painter. It seems likely that the *hippobatai* are a Corinthian development that soon spread to other areas of the Greek world. The motif of the 'knight and squire' appears on Protoattic vases of the 7th century and remains a feature on Athenian vases down to end of the 6th century. A knight is also portrayed on a 7th-century ivory plaque found at Sparta;⁷⁰ depic-

tions of *hippobatai* and *hippostrophoi*, as well as both armed and unarmed youths on horseback, are encountered on 6th-century Lakonian pottery.⁷¹ Similar mounted warriors are also known from Krete.⁷² The *hippobatai* furthermore found their way to the colonies, especially in Italy, where the local people apparently adopted this mode of fighting as well. Figure 9 is based on an Etrurian bucchero *oinochoe* from Ischia di Castro. It depicts an archer who is run down by a chariot, while a youth (?) on horseback approaches from the left; at right, two heavy-armed warriors in Greek armour are engaged in single combat. The chariot may belong to one of these two warriors; the youth at left certainly looks like a mounted squire. The so-called Horseman of Grumentum, dated to about 560-550 BC, is similar to a *hippobatas*, except that he lacks a cuirass and greaves (the shield on his left arm is missing).⁷³ In Italy at least, the *hippobatas* apparently remained an important motif down to the 4th century, as demonstrated by the Black Horseman slab found in Tomb 58 at Andriuolo (dated to 340 BC).⁷⁴ While widespread, it should be stressed that the *hippobatai* were not universally adopted by the Greeks. There is little iconographic evidence, as far as I have been able to find, for the existence of *hippobatai* on the smaller Aegean islands. It seems likely therefore that *hippobatai* were limited geographically to those regions which could support several hundred horses for use by the élite.

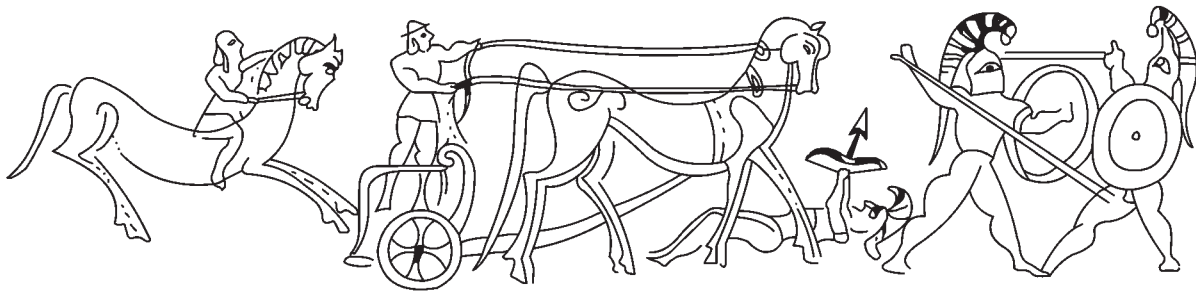


Fig. 9. Bucchero oinochoe from Ischia di Castro (drawn after Stary 1981, plate 7).

There is some evidence which indicates that the part played on the battlefield by *hippobatai* slowly diminished, at least within the Aegean basin. Toward the end of the 7th century BC, or early in the 6th, a new piece of body-armour appears: the thigh-guard. Greenhalgh has pointed out that 'it is the thighs that provide a horseman's main grip, and they were the only part of the otherwise completely mailed Parthian cataphract to be left unprotected'.⁷⁵ Thigh guards are depicted frequently in 6th-century art, but only one actual example is known (from Olympia); its date is a matter of contention.⁷⁶ Needless to say, thigh guards are associated solely in the iconographic evidence with fighting on foot, since it is next to impossible to maintain one's grip on horseback when the thighs are covered with bronze.

Furthermore, from the middle of the 6th century, the bell-shaped cuirass is slowly replaced by more lightweight body-armour, generally made of linen or a composite of linen and metal scales.⁷⁷ Previously, armoured troops are invariably depicted wearing metal body-armour.⁷⁸ Jarva argues, on the basis of dedications of armour at Olympia, that not all heavy-armed warriors were equipped with metal armour.⁷⁹ I believe, however, that the artistic representations in which metal armour is consistently depicted - barring those instances of heroic nudity - to be an accurate reflection of historical reality. Only in the second half of the 6th century is non-metal armour depicted in significant numbers, and eventually such armour largely displaced metal body-armour.⁸⁰ The evidence is consistent in this regard.

HORSEMEN AND WARFARE IN ARCHAIC GREECE

Hippobatai are usually shown in specific contexts. For my master's thesis, I collected a sample of 29 Corinthian vases that featured depictions of warriors or battles. (It should be emphasised that scenes featuring human figures on Corinthian pottery are relatively uncommon.) I have divided the scenes into specific types; the table provides an

overview. *Hippobatai* are usually depicted in single combat (dismounted) or on the move (mounted). If there is enough room on the surface of the pot, the squires are usually indicated; their presence is sometimes indicated only by the outline of a second horse behind the one used by the mounted warrior. Horses are never indicated in scenes featuring mass combat, at least not during the 7th century.

Two famous Corinthian vases that display mass engagements are the Chigi olpe and the Macmillan aryballos, both dated to about 640 BC.⁸¹ The battle-scenes on both feature large numbers of heavily-armed men, but no horses. In both cases, horses are depicted on other parts of the vases, but they are not connected in any obvious way to the main scenes featuring massed combat. Instead, we encounter mounted squires as well as solitary horses in scenes of single combat between two (dismounted) *hippobatai*. It is possible that ancient painters and their audiences simply assumed that the heavy-armed warriors had ridden to the battlefield, even if the horses were not indicated (for lack of space on the pot or for other reasons). On the Chigi vase, there are two figures who are still arming themselves; others are running to catch up with their compatriots who are already marching toward the enemy. It seems unlikely that these had first ridden to the battlefield, only to dismount and then equip themselves. It is perhaps more likely that the warriors moving from left to right marched to the battlefield because it was close to their base of operations, their city or perhaps camp.

In any event, all that we can say for certain, is that the impression given by the Corinthian iconographic evidence of the seventh century indicates that *hippobatai* and *hippostrophoi* on the one hand, and scenes of mass fighting on the other, are mutually exclusive. Exceptions to this general rule seem to appear only on pottery of the Ripe Corinthian era (as well as on the larger Athenian pottery of the 6th century).⁸² For this period, Greenhalgh recognises different kinds of riders, which can be

Table.
Types of scenes on
Korinthian vases,
EPK to MRK.

	Single combat	Knight (+Squire)	Massed combat	Other
London 1969.12-15.1 (Evelyn)		x		
Korinth CP-2096			x	
Ashmolean 504				x
Brindisi 1609	x			
Berlin 3319				x
Louvre CA 617				x
Perachora 27			x	
Perachora 673		x		
London 1889.4-18.1 (Macmillan)			x	
Johansen 1923 plate 34.2			x	
Johansen 1923 plate 34.1				x
Taranto 4173				x
Louvre CA 931			x	
Villa Giulia 22679 (Chigi olpe)			x	
Berlin 3148 (still life of panoply)				x
Berlin F 1056		x		
London 1922.10-17.1		x		
London 1958.1-14.1				x
Lucerne, Käpelli inv. 407		x		
Lucerne, Käpelli inv. 408		x		
Rhodes 13008	x*			
Athens 341		x		
Perachora 1556		x		
Perachora 1571		x		
Perachora 1590		x		
Perachora 2434		x		
Korinth CP-2634		x		
Greenhalgh 1973, 97 fig. 50		x		
London 1814.7-4.491 (OC 421)			x	
Totals	3	12	7	7
(out of 29 items)	10%	41%	24%	24%

The numbers refer to inventory numbers, except where those are not known (by me, anyway), in which case I have referred to the source of the pictures (Johansen 1923 and Greenhalgh 1973). Rhodes 13008 features single combat between apparently dismounted *hippobatai*: the battle, however, is not flanked by mounted squires but by panthers, so I have catalogued it as 'single combat' only. I have included, among the knight (+squire) scenes, those rare instances in which the *hippobatai* are apparently not accompanied by squires or second horses. The items are listed roughly in chronological order.

conveniently summarised as follows: (1) the standard *hippobatas*, sometimes accompanied by his squire, but always equipped with greaves, bell-shaped cuirass, helmet, and shield, as well as one or two spears; (2) a rider equipped with at least a helmet and a spear, often too a cuirass and greaves, never accompanied by a squire and always lacking a shield, and; (3) a tunic-clad youth similar to a *hippostrophos* but for the single (thrusting) spear

with which he is equipped.⁸³ The first type is undoubtedly 'mounted infantry', i.e. men who rode on horseback but dismounted to fight. The second type is classified by Greenhalgh as cavalry proper, and there is no reason to doubt him. The third type is at first confusing: Helbig thought all mounted youths to be squires, whereas Greenhalgh suggests that some of them were light cavalry.⁸⁴ I should like to suggest, on the basis of similarly equipped youths known from earlier Egyptian iconography,⁸⁵ that in some instances these youths are actually mounted scouts. In both Greek and Egyptian art, these riders are unarmed save for the spear. It does not seem too far fetched that, while on the move, some (armed) 'squires' would be sent ahead of the army to explore the terrain and seek out the enemy.⁸⁶

The *hippobatas* and his squire are features of the 7th century BC and may have spread from the north-east Peloponnese to other regions within the Aegean basin.⁸⁷ They were probably introduced at Korinth.⁸⁸ I contend that the Argive shield was specifically invented so that it could be easily carried by someone on horseback. Considering the expense of the panoply it seems not at all unlikely to me that *all* of the heavy-armed warriors were owners of horses, at least in those regions that were suitable for horse-rearing. The poorer segment of society would presumably be called upon to serve as light-armed troops in times of war. In the fragments of the Spartan warrior-poet Tyrtaios (fl. 650 BC) we encounter for the first time the basic subdivision of troops in *panoploi* and *gymnêtes*: 'armoured' and 'naked' troops, respectively.⁸⁹ However, he does not describe *hippobatai*. In fact, *hippobatai* are conspicuously absent in the works of the lyric poets of the 7th and 6th centuries BC.

Horses play a prominent part in the *Iliad*, but those that are described in any detail are the ones yoked to the chariots of the principal heroes. There is one instance, which occurs in the *Doloneia*, where horses are specifically said to be ridden. During the night expedition, Diomedes and Odysseus steal the horses of the Thracian king Rhesos, mount them, and then ride back to camp.⁹⁰ Another (contentious) passage describes how horsemen, rather than chariots, killed each other.⁹¹ Snodgrass is probably correct when he states that 'it is far easier to understand the un-Homeric plural as meaning horsemen, than to believe that we have here a direct clash of chariots, unique in the *Iliad*.'⁹² Homer often uses simply the term *hippês* (*hippeis*), which refers to both 'horsemen' as well as 'chariots'. Perhaps, then, in some instances Homer did have the former in mind rather than the latter, but

it seems nevertheless clear that the heroes themselves, who presumably belonged to the ultra-rich, generally travelled by chariot.

It is unfortunate that the songs of Korinthian poets, like Eumelos, have been lost. Fragments remain of the work of Archilochos (fl. 650 BC) and Alkaïos (fl. 600 BC). They were residents of Paros and Mytilene (Lesbos), respectively. Neither Archilochos nor Alkaïos mention horses in the cases where they had to flee (fr. 5 West; fr. 401B Voigt, respectively), although only Archilochos emphasises running (fr. 233 West). However, I have noted earlier that the iconographic evidence for the presence of *hippobatai* on the smaller Aegean islands is virtually non-existent. Mimnermos of Smyrna describes a warrior who fought off the Lydian cavalry, but he apparently does so on foot (fr. 14 West). This need not imply anything about his mode of transport, since the *hippobatai* were at any rate mounted warriors rather than cavalry proper.⁹³

Sizeable fragments of the poetry by Tyrtaïos remain. His descriptions of battle resemble those in the *Iliad*, but horses are never mentioned. Instead, the emphasis is placed squarely on foot-soldiers, who are divided into two main groups, *panoploi* and *gymnêtes*.⁹⁴ Horses are not mentioned. It is perhaps possible that Tyrtaïos assumed that some of the warriors would have ridden to the battlefield. Perhaps it is more likely that the situation resembles what we have already noted about the Korinthian iconographic evidence: horses may have been fairly unimportant in mass combat. In large conflicts between different communities, warriors were perhaps expected to march to the battlefield rather than ride, particularly if there were many *gymnêtes* present who could never have kept up with the *hippobatai* if the latter had moved at speed. There is insufficient evidence to decide which solution is the best, but the latter perhaps has the most merit.

During the 7th century BC, it seems likely that most Greek armies were relatively small,⁹⁵ and all of the heavy-armed troops were therefore probably drawn exclusively from the aristocracy.⁹⁶ These armies consisted of a number of small war-bands.⁹⁷ These war-bands were the military equivalents of the different (aristocratic) factions that existed among the élite in any given community. When fighting another polity, these war-bands united to form a single army to defend against a common foe. In Homer, we find that the Achaian army consists of a multitude of war-bands, brought together using networks of friends and dependants.⁹⁸ However, war-bands could also operate

independently and for private, rather than public purposes. In times of *stasis* or internal strife, members of the élite could use their war-bands against each other. Alkaïos, for example, in one fragment reminds his friends of the great store of weapons and armour that they have at their disposal and which they should use to prevent one man from seizing sole political power (thereby becoming a tyrant).⁹⁹ Alkaïos has no qualms about using his military might to secure his future as a member of the aristocracy.

War-bands could also be used for other private purposes, such as raiding or other forms of predatory warfare.¹⁰⁰ It seems likely that in small military operations where speed was at a premium, such as ambushes and raids, horses would be used whenever available. In large-scale conflicts, horses would be less important, since enemy missile troops could easily hurt or even kill the animals, as evidenced by the rules used during the Lelantine War. This hypothesis would eliminate the apparent contradictions between the written sources and the contemporary iconographic evidence.

Early in the 6th century, it is clear that Greek forces become more specialised, and heavy infantry emerges in its own right, apparently separate from the *hippobatai*. Cavalry may have slowly developed as a separate arm in the first half of the 6th century,¹⁰¹ although initially it may have been a relatively unimportant part of the archaic armies of the Peloponnese and Central Greece.¹⁰² (True cavalry did exist from a relatively early age in Thessaly, Macedonia, and Thrace.)¹⁰³ As Van Wees has recently shown, 'hoplite' warfare did not exist for centuries prior to the Classical period, but was a relatively recent development.¹⁰⁴ He suggests that 'drastic social and cultural changes in the late 6th and early 5th centuries BC established greater state control in political and military institutions'.¹⁰⁵ One may object to certain details of Van Wees's overview of the development of Greek warfare, but the general tendency toward increased military specialisation and the important part played therein by the emerging Classical Greek State seem clear.¹⁰⁶ It is likely that cavalry proper appeared in numbers at around the same time, maybe 500 BC or a little later.

Despite these changes, one can still find in the literary evidence of the 5th and 4th centuries BC traces of the earlier *hippobatai*.¹⁰⁷ As others have pointed out, it seems likely that the Spartan royal guard, the élite *Hippeis*, may have originally been a contingent of mounted troops.¹⁰⁸ In his history of the Peloponnesian War, Thoukydides casually mentions that the Boiotians fielded 'five hundred

dismounted troops trained to operate with the cavalry'.¹⁰⁹ Greenhalgh suggests that these *hamippoi* were light-armed troops,¹¹⁰ but Thoukydides does not make this clear. In the 4th century BC, Xenophon was one of the few mounted infantrymen in his mercenary army.¹¹¹ Furthermore, at certain games and festivities, young men practised jumping on and off both (moving) chariots and horses.¹¹²

In the *Politics*, Aristotle provides a brief overview of the development of political systems in Greece. He asserts that:

The earliest constitution (after kingships) among the Greeks was in fact composed of warriors, of the cavalry [*hippeis*] in the first place, because it was in them that strength and superiority in war were to be found (for without organized formations a hoplite force is useless, and the ancients had no fund or experience of such things and no tactical procedures for them, so that their strength rested with their cavalry).¹¹³

It is interesting that according to Aristotle the 'cavalry' were originally a force to be reckoned with.¹¹⁴ It is possible that Aristotle was thinking of the age of *hippobatai* in Korinth and Athens. The English word 'cavalry' denotes a specialised use of the horse that the equivalent term in ancient Greek does not possess; rather, it simply refers to a warrior associated with a horse, be it a charioteer, a mounted warrior, or a cavalryman proper.¹¹⁵ The age of kings perhaps refers to the Homeric epics. Homeric society is dominated by a warrior élite, the *basileis* ('princes'),¹¹⁶ who are frequently associated with horses and, in this case, chariots. Perhaps, then, Aristotle's run-down of early Greek history retains a memory of the age of *hippobatai*.

CONCLUSIONS

I started this article with a brief discussion concerning the traditional (orthodox) interpretation of Greek warfare. I have sided with the so-called 'heretics' who believe that battle remained relatively open and fluid from at least the 8th century onwards down to the end of the 6th. I then summarised the most important points of Greenhalgh's study into horsemen and chariots and criticised some of his conclusions. I then proceeded to re-examine some of the iconographic and literary evidence of the late 8th to 6th centuries BC.

Fighting in heavy armour must have been exhausting. Certainly, it would have been difficult for a man equipped with a bell-shaped cuirass, bronze greaves, and other elements of the complete pan-

oply to march for hours on end. It seems likely that this is an important reason why heavy-armed warriors are frequently shown, first, using chariots (Mykenaian and Geometric times) and, later, riding on horseback (the *hippobatai*), at least in those regions that were suitable for the rearing of horses. While chariots continued in use throughout the 7th and 6th centuries BC, it is odd that *hippobatai* feature prominently in the ancient evidence from about the end of the 8th century onwards. One possible explanation is perhaps that conflicts between neighbouring settlements became more common, requiring armies to travel by land more frequently. Since good roads were scarce in Greece, chariots would have been difficult to use in most cases. Instead, heavy-armed warriors decided to ride on horseback, perhaps because the animals could move over tracks and paths not easily accessible to chariots. The older, single-grip shields were not well adapted to riding on horseback. I have tried to show that the Argive shield was much better suited for this purpose, since it was carried on the left arm (and shoulder) and so did not interfere with riding.

In the 6th century, Greek body-armour gradually became lighter. The linen corslet certainly displaced the bronze bell-shaped cuirass toward the end of the 6th century. Perhaps this indicates that Greek armies came increasingly to rely on a larger number of relatively well-equipped close-range fighters than could be provided by the horse-owning aristocracy on its own. While this should not be connected to the rise of a so-called 'middle class', it can perhaps be connected to processes of state-formation, whereby older aristocracies were increasingly replaced by timocracies. Perhaps members of a non-governing élite were allowed to procure panoplies previously reserved for the aristocracy; the latter at any rate continued to be associated with horse-ownership. Cavalrymen were undoubtedly drawn from the aristocracy. Cavalry proper may have appeared in the first half of the 6th century BC. It is clear that cavalrymen continued to wear metal body-armour all the way down to the Classical period,¹¹⁷ and possibly beyond. This supports the notion that heavy body-armour and horses are connected, and the Argive shield may have originally been developed specifically for use by the aristocratic *hippobatai*.

Even after the shift in emphasis to infantry proper, horses continued to be useful not just as cavalry, but also as a mode of conveyance for some of the heavy-armed, for raids, surprise attacks, and ambushes. In short, all activities where speed is at a premium. Horses are uncommon in mass

engagements, where most of the warriors instead operate solely on foot. A 6th-century black-figure lekanis lid from Athens depicts dismounted *hippobatai* marching among regular heavy-armed warriors on foot (see note 86). We can perhaps assume that in large battles, only some warriors rode to the battlefield as *hippobatai* and dismounted long before the fighting actually began. It seems likely that in an all-out battle between armies of different communities, there would have been plenty of missile troops that could injure or kill the valuable horses.

I hope to have shown that there is ample proof to suggest that the horse was an integral element of the accoutrement of the heavy-armed warrior in the late 8th and 7th centuries BC. The bell-shaped cuirass has for some time now been recognised as a piece of armour well-suited for use by men on horseback. The Argive shield too was very probably invented for the same purpose, since in my opinion it has specific advantages over the older central-grip shields when it comes to riding on horseback. Thus, it seems to me - as Detienne once suggested - that the Classical Greek hoplite finds its origins in the *hippobatai*, the mounted troops, of the 7th century BC. I believe that this hypothesis has the advantage of taking into account all of the available evidence in a manner hitherto not attempted.

NOTES

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All illustrations were prepared by myself, made after photographs and drawings published in the sources that are cited in the captions.

¹ For example, Van Wees 2004 and Lendon 2005.

² Holladay 1982; Cawkwell 1989.

³ Detienne 1968, 134-8.

⁴ Some commentators believe the Dipylon-shields to be heroic or otherwise unrealistic (e.g. Snodgrass 1964b, 58-60 with references), but I can find no compelling reasons to support such a notion; cf. the hands-on approach to the Dipylon and Boiotian shield in Connolly 1998 [1981], 51 (although I do not believe that the Mykenian figure-of-eight shield is the direct predecessor of the Dipylon-type shield, as Connolly purports). As regards Geometric vase-paintings of battle, Ahlberg 1971 remains the most useful guide.

⁵ Snodgrass 1964b, 136-139.

⁶ Although in Geometric vase-paintings, all spears are apparently thrown; see Van Wees 1994, 143-146.

⁷ This *contra* Snodgrass 1971, 46 (and by extension *contra* Aristotle *Politics* 1289 b36f).

⁸ The phrase is lifted from Greenhalgh 1973, 2.

⁹ Anderson observes that 'there is enough evidence elsewhere to show that there was no single "proper" system of chariot-tactics in antiquity. Homer's evidence is not to be discredited because it contradicts modern pre-conceived theories' (1975, 187; *contra* Greenhalgh 1973, 14-18).

¹⁰ Van Wees 2004, 176-177.

¹¹ Adcock 1967, 47.

¹² Snodgrass 1964b, 63-67.

¹³ Refer to the discussion in Snodgrass 1964a, also Snodgrass 1964b, 182-183.

¹⁴ Lorimer 1947, 76.

¹⁵ Lazenby / Whitehead 1996.

¹⁶ As pointed out by Pritchett 1985, 11 (with references).

¹⁷ Lorimer 1947, 76; echoed in Cartledge 1977, 20.

¹⁸ Snodgrass 1971, 45 used the word 'massed force' as a synonym for *phalanx*.

¹⁹ Latacz 1977, especially pp. 45-49.

²⁰ Tyrtaios fr. 12.21-2 West.

²¹ Cf. Van Wees 1994, 3-4.

²² As a technical term, the word *phalanx* 'was first generally applied to the Macedonian phalanx' (Adcock 1967, 3 n. 5). The word is nowadays used more generally to denote a massed group of armed men who are ordered in ranks and files. Classical authors used the term generally to denote either a battle-line or an arrangement of troops that was broader than it was deep (Wheeler 1991, 156 n. 21).

²³ Hanson is currently perhaps the most outspoken advocate of the orthodoxy, e.g. Hanson 2000 [1989].

²⁴ The earliest critic is perhaps Frazer 1942; 'heretics', see note 2, above.

²⁵ See also the discussion of these passages in Cawkwell 1989, 379-380.

²⁶ Cf. Latacz 1977, 226-229, who compares the Homeric descriptions of battle with those of Thukydides and finds that there are far more similarities between the two than most modern commentators allow for.

²⁷ Krentz 1985, 55-60.

²⁸ For example, Frazer 1942.

²⁹ Krentz 1985, 1994, and 2002; Van Wees 2000b, 2001, and 2002.

³⁰ For example, Lendon 2005.

³¹ For example, Krentz 1985.

³² Krentz 2002, 23 (expanding on points made in Van Wees 2000b, 155-156).

³³ Krentz 2002, 35.

³⁴ In some instances shields would be locked together to present a 'wall of shields' to the enemy. Later Greeks referred to this formation as the *synaspismos* (however, cf. Krentz 1985, 51-52), a purely defensive formation, perhaps first described in the *Iliad* (15.614-629). See also the rather strict interpretation in Latacz 1977, 55-65.

³⁵ Krentz 1985, 61.

³⁶ I find myself in agreement with Krentz 2002.

³⁷ Snodgrass 1999 [1967], 135.

³⁸ Van Wees 2004, 183 provides a reasonable overview of the developments from the introduction of the Argive shield down to the Peloponnesian War, although I do not regard Tyrtaios' descriptions of battle as being significantly different from those in the *Iliad*.

³⁹ For example, *Iliad* 1.290-291.

⁴⁰ Greenhalgh 1973, 40-62 *passim*.

⁴¹ Greenhalgh 1973, 75.

- 42 Greenhalgh 1973, 76.
 43 Greenhalgh 1973, 71 (emphasis mine).
 44 Greenhalgh 1973, 71-72; cf. however Van Wees 2004, 167-169 and figs. 14-17 (stance of the hoplite).
 45 Greenhalgh 1973, 73.
 46 Snodgrass 1964b, 160.
 47 Anderson 1975, 187.
 48 Crouwel 1981, especially p. 145.
 49 Greenhalgh 1973, 146-147 (summary).
 50 See note 10, *supra*.
 51 Greenhalgh 1973, 58-61.
 52 For example, Greenhalgh 1973, 85 fig. 45; there are many more examples in Amyx 1988.
 53 Snodgrass 1971, 45-46.
 54 Jarva 1995, 25.
 55 Anderson 1961, 143.
 56 Anderson 1975, 185.
 57 Greenhalgh 1973, 108.
 58 For example, Carpenter 1991, 227 fig. 326.
 59 Greenhalgh 1973, 87-88.
 60 Anderson 1975, 185.
 61 Boardman 1991 [1974], 209 notes that on some mid-century black-figure vases from Athens, 'the warrior himself is seen jumping from his moving horse in the military exercise of the *anabates*,' although he does not provide any illustrations.
 62 Greenhalgh 1973, 120 fig. 62.
 63 Anderson 1961, 80-81.
 64 Cf. Van Wees 1996, 34.
 65 Summary of the evidence for the Lelantine War, see Crielaard 2002, 259-263; use of horses, see Greenhalgh 1973, 91-92; cf. also Donlan 1970.
 66 The famous oinochoe depicting Aktorione-Molione shows a shieldless figure, the twins themselves (with a rectangular body or shield), as well as a Dipylon warrior, all on chariots; Ahlberg 1971, 13 fig. 2.
 67 Simantoni-Bournia 1990, 27 (no K19); illustrated figs. 7 (bottom) and 10.
 68 Some are illustrated in Boardman 1991 [1974], e.g. figs. 47 and 114.
 69 Van Wees 2004, 208, plate XXII.
 70 Greenhalgh 1973, 95 fig. 49.
 71 See Stibbe 1972, plates 75.1 (*hippobatai* and *hippostrophoi*), 108.1 and 108.4 (riders); Stibbe 2004, plates 23.1 (*hippobatai* and *hippostrophoi*), 39 (mounted youth with spear), 67.1 (unarmed mounted rider with outline of second horse), and 95.1 (youths on horseback). My thanks to Jan Paul Crielaard for pointing out Stibbe's work.
 72 Relief decoration on the temple at Prinias, see Rizza/Rizzo 1984, fig. 429.
 73 Illustrated in Bottini 1996, 544.
 74 Illustrated in Pontrandolfo 1996, 469.
 75 Greenhalgh 1973, 101.
 76 On the basis of the thigh guard's pattern of perforation, Jarva suggests a date in the first half of the 7th century, but 'Stylistic comparison with monumental sculpture would suggest an essentially later date in the first half of the 6th century' (Jarva 1995, 80 n. 495). A 6th-century date does seem much more likely in my opinion.
 77 Cf. Jarva 1995, 33-44.
 78 Linen corslets were already known to Homer. See also Jarva 1995, 34 fig. 9.
 79 Jarva 1995, 154-156.
 80 Jarva 1995, 33-34.
 81 There are more examples comparable to both, but as the Chigi and Macmillan vases are the best known I shall limit my discussion to them.
 82 In general, refer to Greenhalgh 1973, 96-111.
 83 Greenhalgh 1973, 100. I agree with Greenhalgh's assessment as regards the use of the second horse, discussed on pp. 103-108 (largely contra Alföldi).
 84 Greenhalgh 1973, 109-111.
 85 Schulman 1957.
 86 The position of such riders on an Attic lekanis lid (discussed by Greenhalgh 1973, 110; see also Anderson 1961, 292-293 plate 29), namely ahead of the main force, seems to confirm that these are indeed scouts.
 87 'The evidence for warfare of other states is much poorer, but what there is attests mounted hoplites elsewhere in Greece and in the colonies of the East and West' (Greenhalgh 1973, 147).
 88 Some circumstantial evidence is perhaps provided by the origins of horses used by the Athenian cavalry as detailed in an 'archive' (i.e. 111 inscribed lead tables) described in Kroll 1977 and dated to the 4th and 3rd centuries BC. It appears that horses were raised not only in Makedonia and Thessaly, but at Korinth and Sikyon as well, all regions which apparently contained 'the established stables and herds that provided the finer mounts for the whole of Greece' (Kroll 1977, 88).
 89 Tyrtaios fr. 11.35-8 West.
 90 *Iliad* 10.498-514.
 91 *Iliad* 11.150-153.
 92 Snodgrass 1964b, 175.
 93 Greenhalgh 1973, 93.
 94 See note 18, *supra*.
 95 The wealth required to purchase the expensive armour and weapons of the *panoploi* will have meant 'that the first phalanxes were far smaller than we have evidence for in the 5th century, and were to be numbered in the hundreds rather than thousands' (Salmon 1977, 94).
 96 Singor 1988, 300-310 (small size of the army); 310-321 (sociopolitical implications of the heavy-armed troops being limited exclusively to the aristocracy).
 97 Van Wees 2004, 95-97.
 98 See especially Van Wees 1992, 338 n. 81.
 99 Alkaïos fr. 140 Voigt.
 100 Van Wees 1992, 207-217 (predatory warfare in Homer); cf. Thoukydides 1.5.
 101 Greenhalgh 1973, 98-100.
 102 Gaebel 2002, 59.
 103 Snodgrass 1999 [1967], 45-46.
 104 Van Wees 2004, 177.
 105 Van Wees 2004, 196.
 106 A balanced opinion, partly inspired by Van Wees, can be found in Lendon 2005, 48-49; also Krentz 2002.
 107 'Traces survive, in Classical Greek institutions, of a day when the richest had fought on horseback' (Lendon 2005, 44).
 108 Greenhalgh 1973, 94-95.
 109 Thoukydides 5.57, translation Rex Warner.
 110 Greenhalgh 1973, 136.
 111 For convenience, refer to Van Wees 2004, 57-58.
 112 See note 61, *supra* as well as Crowther 1991 *passim* (with references); Alföldi 1967, 23-26.
 113 Aristotle *Politics* 1297 b1-11, translation T.A. Sinclair (revised by Trevor J. Saunders).
 114 Regarding the sociopolitical aspects of this passage, which were first elaborated upon by Nilsson in 1929 and which I have at present ignored, refer to the very balanced opinion expressed in Lendon 2005, 44-45.
 115 As rightly pointed out by Greenhalgh 1973, 75.
 116 See especially Van Wees 1992, 31-36.
 117 Anderson 1961, 142-144 (with references).

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Putting Architectural Sculpture into its Archaeological context

The Case of the Siphnian Treasury at Delphi

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Abstract

*The 'meaning' of architectural sculpture has long held the fascination of scholars. In the absence of inscriptional or literary evidence, however, scholars have often also allowed how they read a sculpture's message to define the process of its creation. Such a procedure is unsatisfactory, especially in arenas where the process of design and placement - both of the architectural sculpture and its framing edifice - are crucial to understanding how the sculpture, and the structure as a whole, relate to their context. In this paper, I argue for the benefits of an archaeologically orientated response to the question of sculpture's design and placement, focusing on a re-interpretation of the Siphnian Treasury at Delphi.**

Architectural sculpture expresses and moulds civic and religious space. It performs a role in constructing the identity of the building on which it appears.¹ While much scholarship is focused on the interpretation of that role, this brief paper will focus on how architectural sculptures' parts were written. My case study will be the architectural sculpture of the Siphnian Treasury at Delphi. This building has generated a good deal of scholarship, largely because of its heavy emphasis on architectural sculpture in comparison to other Treasuries of this period at Delphi and its good state of preservation.² My interest, however, is not primarily with an interpretation of the meaning of the sculpture, but instead with the question of its design and placement and the resulting implications for how we should understand the sculpture and its framing edifice - the Treasury. How did the architectural sculpture get designed? Who designed it? Who decided where the Treasury, which frames the sculpture, should be placed within the sanctuary? What does the process tell us about the sculpture, the Treasury and their possible interpretation?³

This paper is divided into three sections: first, a survey of previous interpretations of the sculpture of the Siphnian Treasury and responses to the question of design and placement; second, a re-examination of the archaeological context of the Siphnian Treasury and its architectural sculpture to discover what this can tell us about the processes of design, placement and construction; third, an examination of the implications of this evidence for the way in which we should ap-

proach an interpretation of the Siphnian Treasury and other sculptural dedications at Delphi.

PREVIOUS APPROACHES TO THE SIPHNIAN TREASURY AND TO THE QUESTION OF DESIGN AND PLACEMENT

The architectural sculpture of the Siphnian Treasury has attracted a great deal of interest, not least as a, supposedly, fixed point for scholars of Archaic sculpture,⁴ but also for scholars of the sanctuary of Delphi as a well preserved and highly ornate dedication. The history of the scholarship on the Treasury's sculpture falls into three main categories. Firstly, attempts to reconstruct and identify the myths in the frieze and pediments.⁵ Secondly, attempts to identify, and interpret the impact of, the different sculpting teams who were employed to work on different sides of the frieze and pediments.⁶ Thirdly, attempts to interpret the meaning(s) of the architectural sculpture.⁷ As a result, scholarship has generally agreed on its characterisation of the Siphnian Treasury as a dedication unusually ornate for its time at Delphi (and indeed in the Archaic period), but at the same time fairly standard in terms of its choices of iconography. The interpretation of the 'meaning' of the iconography has, however, varied enormously. In the earliest publications, the Siphnian Treasury was accorded no 'message', as it was thought to be simply the product of a 'nouveau riche' island state.⁸ Since then, its iconography has been interpreted as pushing a message of *either* Siphnian supremacy,⁹ *or* of some combination of Delphic,¹⁰ priestly,¹¹ godly,¹² and philosophical power.¹³ The

reason, I believe, that the Siphnian Treasury has particularly attracted such a multitude of polarised interpretations lies precisely in the difficulty scholars face in balancing both the uniqueness of the design and execution and its iconographical conventionality.¹⁴ In an effort to accommodate at least one of these opposites into the 'meaning' of the sculpture, scholars have been forced to side either with Siphnian uniqueness or with the Delphic/godly imposition of a 'standardized' message.

It is for this reason perhaps that the issue of who had control of the design and placement of the Siphnian Treasury has been more heated than for other dedications at Delphi and elsewhere. Unfortunately, this issue provokes questions to which there are still no satisfactory answers.¹⁵ At Delphi, unlike in Athens or Epidauros, there is no epigraphical evidence for building and sculptural design until the 4th century.¹⁶ Moreover, unlike at Olympia, there is also no evidence to suggest the occurrence of design competitions.¹⁷ Consequently, previous answers to questions of design and placement in the Archaic period at Delphi have been derived from an interpretation of the sculpture itself. Ridgway has recently argued that 'no external political influence ... can be envisioned for the Archaic stage of the Delphic sanctuary, where religious bodies alone (the local priesthood and the Amphictyonic council) should have suggested sculptural programs and authorised proposed messages. Thus the myths on the Siphnian Treasury seems particularly relevant for Apollo and the locale, rather than the island.'¹⁸ Richard Neer, in his discussion of the Siphnian Treasury, responds with the opposite viewpoint: 'it is highly unlikely that the city state had "no influence" over the decoration of buildings which they built at their own cost for their own people ... the Delphic censor is a phantom.'¹⁹

The problem with these types of argument should be apparent. As both scholars admit, there is little clear evidence one way or the other.²⁰ Their opinions on the issue of the design and placement of the architectural sculpture have instead been based on their interpretation of the meaning of the sculpture itself. So, while Ridgway sees the Treasury as echoing the needs of the Delphi sanctuary and thus a work designed by 'religious bodies', Neer argues for an interpretation of the architectural sculpture as reflecting the very specific needs of the emergent polis of Siphnos and thus attributes its design to the Siphnians alone. In short, scholars have allowed how they read the sculpture to define how they see its creation.²¹ They have entered into a chain of circular argu-

ment. In the absence of firm evidence, it is hard to see what other options scholars have. Such an approach however, based on the interpretation of the meaning of the sculpture, will always fail to persuade, because of the sheer variety of possible interpretations for this - and indeed all - sculpture.²²

Yet it is particularly important in the case of Delphi that we get an answer, because our understanding of the issue of design and placement has serious implications not only for our understanding of the 'meaning' of the Siphnian Treasury, but also for how we understand the way the sanctuary functioned as a whole within the Greek world. Anthony Snodgrass, in the 1980s, suggested that the theory of peer polity interaction should be applied to sanctuaries like Delphi and Olympia. He even cited the Siphnian Treasury as a prime example: '... when little Siphnos, with its territory of 75 sq.km and its population of perhaps two or three thousand, built its splendid Treasury at Delphi, it was directly challenging comparison with Corinth, which was more than ten times the size in both categories.'²³ Dedications and their dedicators gain meaning through their physical and iconographical relationships with each other within the sanctuary. It is a theory which has been widely accepted. Yet implicit in such an understanding is the premise that dedicating states must have had some freedom to design and place their monuments as they liked.²⁴ As we have already seen in the divergent views of Ridgway and Neer however, such a premise is not a foregone conclusion. It remains little more than an assumption.

An answer to the question of design and placement is therefore crucial to our understanding of how the interstate sanctuary of Delphi functioned as a sanctuary and as an interstate space within the Greek world. Moreover, it needs to be an answer which is not based on how we decide to read the sculpture. Yet what sort of answer can we offer?

A RE-EXAMINATION OF THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL CONTEXT OF THE SIPHNIAN TREASURY

The starting point must be that the Siphnians paid for the building.²⁵ Though paying for a dedication may not have automatically brought with it the right to choose all the details of its design,²⁶ it did define the type of dedication and its scale of (sculptural) elaboration: if a dedicator offers only enough money for a statue, no one can choose to build a Treasury. Moreover, the decision to make the Treasury in expensive marble instead of poros

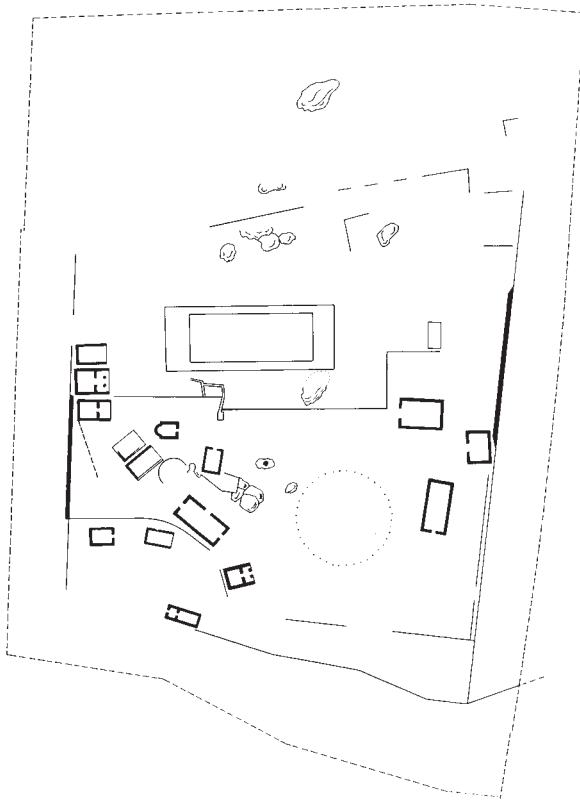


Fig. 1. Delphi 586-548 BC
(after de la Coste-Messelière 1969, fig. 3 (c) EFA).

limestone - indeed Siphnian, Naxian and Parian marble as we see in the Siphnian Treasury - must be a decision for the Siphnians.²⁷ So too must the decision to include a sculptured frieze, pediments and caryatids instead of columns, since these features will have substantially added to the cost.²⁸ Such decisions will have been taken at a very early stage in the design process, certainly before construction began. Indeed the decision to include a full complement of architectural sculpture on the Siphnian Treasury may well have influenced decisions over the thickness (and expense) of the supporting walls.²⁹

Money is, of course, not the only concern. Choices about what sort of dedication to offer at Delphi were surely going to be influenced by what was already at Delphi (and in this period 548-500 that is, bar the Column of the Naxians, mostly Treasuries).³⁰ The emphasis on decoration - on architectural sculpture - in the Siphnian Treasury, however, has to have been an active choice on the part of the Siphnian patrons, especially as most Treasuries already present in this period at Delphi had rather limited decoration.³¹

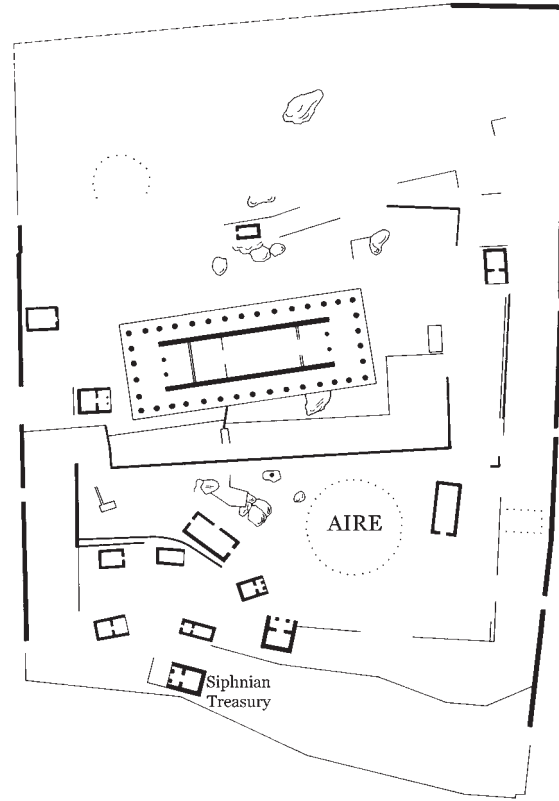


Fig.2. Delphi 548-500 BC
(after de la Coste-Messelière 1969, fig. 4 (c) EFA).

The Siphnian Treasury was constructed sometime between 530-500 BC.³² This period was a time of huge upheaval at Delphi due to the reconstruction of the temple by the Alcmaeonids, under contract to the Amphictyony, and the enlargement of the sanctuary, which preceded the reconstruction.³³ How much power did the Amphictyony have over the sanctuary and dedications within it?³⁴ They certainly had no monopoly over dedication. In the period down to 500, there are five dedications made by Amphictyonic members as opposed to ten by non-members, of which the Siphnian Treasury was one.³⁵ The point is further emphasized by the use of Siphnian marble in the Siphnian Treasury, since marble was a building material that the Amphictyony could not yet provide from amongst its members.³⁶

It is equally likely that the Amphictyony had little control over the more detailed issues of dedication design. John Davies has argued that the day-to-day, *de facto*, power of the Amphictyony in the Archaic period (to control something like the design of the architectural sculpture on the Siphnian Treasury) was actually highly limited, given

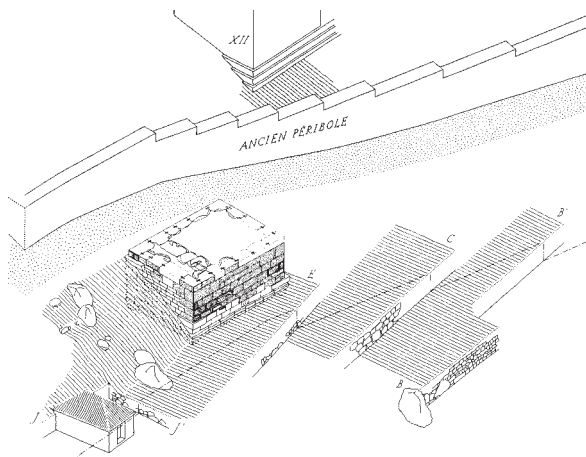


Fig 3. The foundations of the Siphnian Treasury placed on a pre-existing terrace, outside the old Peribolos wall of the sanctuary (after Daux/Hansen 1987, fig. 37 (c) EFA).

that it had no secretariat, no resources of its own, and met only twice a year.³⁷ As such, we cannot simply say that the Amphictyony policed the design of dedications within the sanctuary; although we also must accept that they cannot be written out of the process entirely, either in terms of their symbolic power or in terms of their own built presence within the sanctuary.

What about placement? The Siphnian Treasury is built right up against the new peribolos wall, within the extended southern end of the sanctuary, both features of the sanctuary's expansion. Who decided where it should go? If one looks at the plans of Delphi for the years 586-548 (fig. 1) and 548-500 (fig. 2), there is little sense of any regulation in the placement of the dedications, except that nothing could occupy the central 'Aire' - and indeed nothing ever did in the sanctuary's history.³⁸ What is clear, however, from the rearrangement of the sanctuary after 548 is that those carrying out the re-organisation were able to pull down approximately six buildings in order to create the enlarged temple terrace.³⁹ Such demolition of dedications has been held as evidence for the sanctuary's power over a dedication's design at the point of creation.⁴⁰ Yet Anne Jacquemin has argued that the enlargement of the temple terrace (not to mention the sanctuary) was itself a 'dedication' of such magnificence that the Pythia and her sanctuary officials could not really refuse, especially at the expense of six much smaller offerings.⁴¹ This was not *an* enlargement of the sanctuary, this was *the* enlargement of the sanctuary, the biggest in its entire history.⁴² As such,

the removal of buildings as part of the enlargement, rather than automatically endorsing a top down understanding of the placement of dedications, proves nothing more than the Pythia's good business sense and the fact that, once dedicated, such buildings were managed by the sanctuary and could be demolished if necessary.⁴³

This leads us to think again about how the Treasury's location was decided. The Siphnian Treasury is the first monument (or perhaps simultaneously with the Sicyonian Treasury) to be built in the newly extended area of the sanctuary.⁴⁴

As G. Daux and E. Hansen have pointed out, in their careful and detailed analysis of the Siphnian Treasury in the *Fouilles de Delphes* series, the Siphnian Treasury was begun before the new sanctuary peribolos wall.⁴⁵ Indeed it was built upon a pre-existing partly-finished terrace outside the sanctuary in what was still very much a secondary area, with work cabins close by (fig. 3).⁴⁶

Yet the archaeological evidence shows us that the building of the Treasury and the peribolos wall went hand in hand. The backfill created by the peribolos wall, and indeed the peribolos wall itself, hide the foundation blocks for the Siphnian treasury on its south side and the foundation blocks for the terrace entrance (fig. 4).⁴⁷ In fact, the height of the peribolos wall conforms to the height of the Treasury entrance and the beginning of its marble levels (fig. 4).⁴⁸ Moreover, the builders of the Treasury have chosen not to finish off the two rows of rusticated poros limestone blocks above the soil level on the south side, which are hidden by the boundary wall, despite doing so on the exposed north side (fig. 5).⁴⁹ The inference must be that the decision to construct the Treasury in that area - and indeed the way in which it was constructed - was taken as part of a process of consultation between those dedicating and those designing and carrying out the enlargement of the sanctuary.

The construction of the Treasury itself also shows evidence of intense collaboration between the local builders and skilled marble workers, possibly from an island (Siphnian?) workshop.⁵⁰ The foundations of the Treasury were in local poros limestone, and, according to Daux and Hansen, were worked by local Delphic builders.⁵¹ The marble walls, however, were worked using Cycladic building techniques with much more regularly shaped joining crampons and bear the mark of the toothed chisel, which was used for the marble blocks of the walls, frieze and pediment, but not for the foundation blocks.⁵² These differences may be simply the result of working in two types of stone.

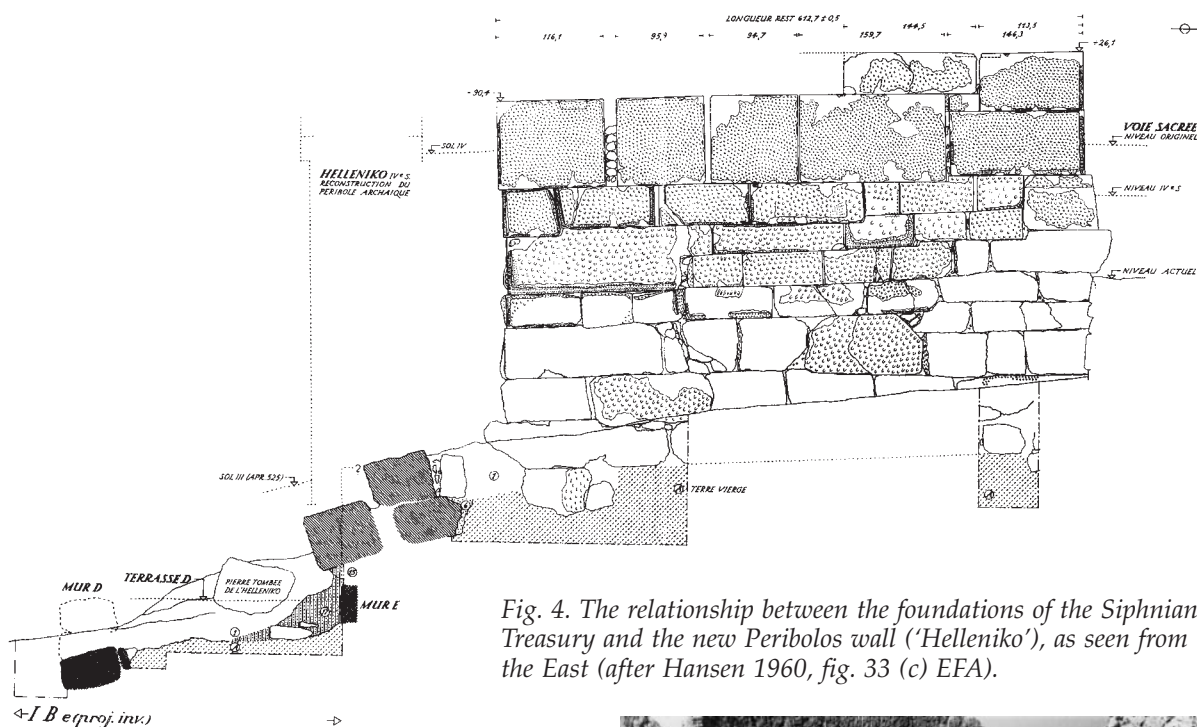


Fig. 4. The relationship between the foundations of the Siphnian Treasury and the new Peribolos wall ('Helleniko'), as seen from the East (after Hansen 1960, fig. 33 (c) EFA).

The top limestone foundation level, however, also bears toothed chisel markings, which are probably the result of the preparation of this level to receive the first marble level. The use of the tool on both types of stone, at the point of their meeting, makes it more plausible that a different team was taking over.⁵³

The fact that the Siphnian patrons employed local sanctuary builders can also be seen in the construction of the entrance terrace to the Treasury. The terrace was an integral part of the plan of the Treasury from the beginning, as the integration of their foundations shows.⁵⁴ The terrace, however, seems to have been built by the same team which also built part of the new sanctuary walls. The walls of the entrance terrace are constructed with polygonal limestone which mimics the building structure for the peribolos wall constructed in the same period at the East, West and North, as well as the great polygonal wall of the Temple terrace before its final dressing.⁵⁵

The process of construction for the architectural sculpture also seems to bear witness to an intense collaboration between local and island teams working within the sanctuary. The frieze of the Siphnian Treasury seems to have been put in place already fully carved. At each end of the frieze blocks on the North and East side there remain visible two parallel grooves, which do not

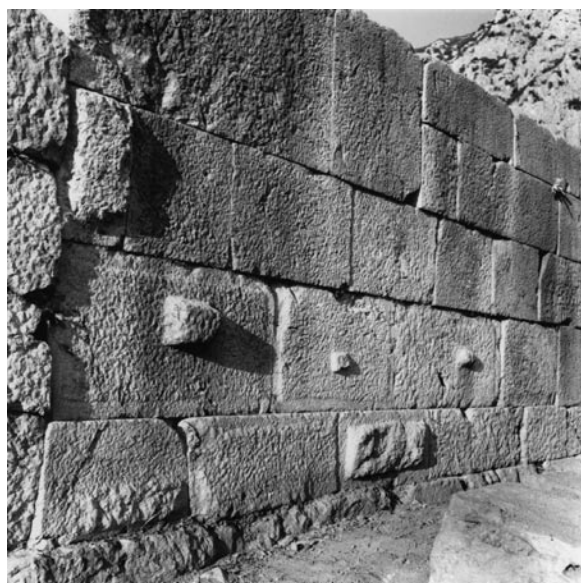


Fig. 5. The unfinished limestone foundation blocks of the Siphnian Treasury's south side, which would have been hidden by the new Peribolos wall (after Daux/Hansen 1987, fig. 45 (c) EFA).

relate to the blocks in the levels above or below the frieze. They are instead the remnants of a lifting system used especially for delicate pre-sculptured blocks.⁵⁶ Similarly the pedimental sculptures were carved in advance of their placement.



Fig. 6. The East Pediment of the Siphnian Treasury (after Daux/Hansen 1987, fig.121 (c) E. Hansen).



Fig. 7. The East Pediment of the Siphnian Treasury, as seen from the side (after Daux/Hansen 1987, fig. 122 (c) E. Hansen).

The top halves of the figures on the East pediment are sculptured in extra deep relief, which must have been carried out before the projecting geison was added on top (figs. 6, 7).⁵⁷ Such processes make it likely that both frieze and pediment were begun probably at the same time as the building, possibly by other workshops skilled in the use of Parian marble.⁵⁸ The frieze, however, can not have been completed in isolation from the building process since the exact dimensions of the frieze could not have been finalised until the toichobate had been laid.⁵⁹ Indeed, given the difficulty of transporting delicate sculptured blocks, the likelihood is that the architectural sculpture was carved at Delphi, very near the construction site.⁶⁰ Thus in the construction of the architectural sculpture, there must have been constant communication between the island builders of the Treasury, the local sanctuary builders of the treasury, and the probable two teams of sculptors working on the frieze and pediments.⁶¹

What does such an examination of the Treasury's archaeological context tell us about its design, placement and process of construction? The Siphnians paid for it and chose to place great emphasis on architectural sculpture in their Treasury, although that does not necessarily mean they designed every detail. The Amphictyony, though a powerful force within the sanctuary, most probably had little day-to-day control over the sanctuary and the design of its dedications. It seems thus unlikely that either Siphnos or the Amphictyony could be responsible, single-handedly, for the design and placement of the Treasury.

Instead, the evidence suggests that the process of design, placement and construction was one of continual collaboration and consultation. The Treasury's placement was worked out through a process of close consultation with those responsible for overseeing the enlargement of the sanctuary (a combination of the Amphictyony, the city of Delphi and the sanctuary officials): the Treasury was started before the sanctuary was enlarged, and yet the enlargement was envisaged as an integral part of the Treasury's final design.

The building itself was clearly completed by different teams of local builders and marble specialists working together. The frieze and pedimental sculptures seem to have been carved simultaneously with the building of the Treasury, from the same marble as the caryatids, and the overall layout of the architectural sculptures' design must have been the outcome of constant consultation with the builders during the process of construction.⁶²

None of this, of course, *proves* anything about who planned the details of the architectural sculpture for the Treasury. It does however provide a frame in which to consider it. The design, placement and construction of the building were the result of a process of consultation and collaboration between various bodies, rather than the preserve of one body. Should we see the sculpture in the same light? Just what is the sculpture's relationship to its frame?⁶³ What I would argue is this: to maintain the position that the architectural sculpture, and *only* the architectural sculpture, was the preserve purely of the sanctuary officials at Delphi, or indeed the preserve purely of the Siphnians, would be to place unduly heavy emphasis on the architectural sculpture as the only 'important' part of the building. That is to say, that the Siphnians or the sanctuary officials were *only* interested in controlling the sculpture and not the rest of the treasury. It would be to argue that nothing else about the Treasury mattered.

To argue for such a relationship between the architectural sculpture and the Treasury which frames it is an uncomfortable task, especially given the lack of ancient evidence for such a focus.⁶⁴ The alternative is to consider that the architectural sculpture and the building which frames it have a much closer relationship. Such a relationship, I argue, is suggested by the evidence presented here for the Siphnian Treasury. As such, we might consider that the design of the architectural sculpture took place in a broadly similar way to that of the design, placement and construction of the building: in a process of collaboration between the Siphnians (who were the impetus for the high level of decoration on the Treasury), the skilled workers in Parian marble, the sanctuary officials, the Amphictyony and the city of Delphi.

THE IMPLICATIONS OF THE DESIGN PROCESS FOR OUR UNDERSTANDING OF THE SIPHNIAN TREASURY AND OTHER DEDICATIONS AT DELPHI

The evidence presented above suggests that the process of design, placement and construction for the Siphnian Treasury was not the preserve of one body, but the result of a process of consultation and collaboration between several different bodies: the dedicators, those in charge of the sanctuary's enlargement, sanctuary officials, Amphictyonic and city officials, local and specialist builders and sculptors. This broad range of influence on the design and placement of the Treasury makes any discussion of the Treasury's meaning even more complicated because we now have to consider the

possibility of a multitude of voices speaking to the viewer through the Treasury and its architectural sculpture.

Such discussions are, indeed, further complicated by the unlikelihood of each stage of the design and placement process being *equally* influenced by all the parties. To my mind, the evidence for the treasury's location being so bound up with the enlargement of the sanctuary possibly indicates that the sanctuary officials had more of a say in the Treasury's location than the Siphnians. Indeed, looking again at figures 1 and 2, unlike the period 586-548, when most treasuries had been built around the temple or just below it, the majority of new large (Treasury) dedications built during the period 548-500 are placed, like the Siphnian Treasury, at the *edges* of the new sanctuary. This could simply be because the temple environs were unusable during their reconstruction and enlargement, but it is also part of a longer term trend. In the 5th century, Treasuries are rarely placed near the temple, but instead placed more usually in the lower parts of the sanctuary. As such, the process of placing the Siphnian Treasury may actually bear witness to a change in the policy of those overseeing the sanctuary, as they take the opportunity of the renovation to encourage a practice of distancing larger dedications from the new temple in order not to distract from its privileged position in the sanctuary.

However, if the placement of the Siphnian Treasury bears witness to a possible increase in the involvement of sanctuary bodies in the decision process, the opposite seems true for the design of the Treasury and its sculpture. The Siphnians, as patrons of the building, chose its style and degree of elaboration. Moreover, as a result of wanting to put such an emphasis on architectural sculpture, it is likely that the Siphnians were asked first what subject matter they had in mind. Of course, despite this primacy in the process of design, the Siphnian response will not have been based simply on ideas formed outside of the sanctuary, that is to say, it will in no way be a purely 'Siphnian' input. The Siphnian 'choice' will have been influenced by social and religious constructs of what were appropriate sculptural themes for the sacred space of Delphi. No one would wish to put up a monument, which was thought to be disrespectful to the god. Indeed, the Siphnians may well have wanted to replicate a current sculptural theme or trend in the sanctuary, as they chose to replicate (and elaborate on) the architectural trend of dedicating a treasury structure.⁶⁵ The choice of the theme of Herakles and the Tripod in the Treas-

survivor's pedimental sculpture must, at some level, be due to the theme's popularity at that time within the sanctuary.⁶⁶ It is also, I think, no coincidence that a Gigantomachy was chosen for the Siphnian Treasury north frieze, which mirrors the Gigantomachy that was being placed on the west pediment of the new temple of Apollo especially since it is likely that both buildings were being constructed at the same time and, as I argued above, the architectural sculpture of the Treasury was probably being carved in the sanctuary, even perhaps alongside the Temple sculptures. Indeed, it was probably not lost on the Siphnians that the first time a visitor, entering the sanctuary from the south east, would have been able to glimpse the west pediment Gigantomachy of the Apollo temple directly after they had passed the Siphnian Treasury's north frieze and its Gigantomachy.

The difficulties do not stop there. Even if we think we may understand the particular design and placement impetuses from all these different, and simultaneously interrelated, influences and groups, we are still no closer to identifying a general rule for the question of design and placement for the sanctuary of Delphi. Dedicators, for example, did not always design and build *in situ* at Delphi, sometimes they sent dedications ready made.⁶⁷ Thus the different influences behind the design and placement for all dedications in the sanctuary across the Archaic period are never going to be the same, or at least are never going to have the same weight.⁶⁸

Can we set any boundaries to this increasingly complex picture of the design and placement process? Was there, for example, ever a point when the sanctuary officials at Delphi had to say no to a piece of architectural sculpture (or indeed to a dedication itself), and so put themselves between the god and his offering? Despite the increasingly acrimonious 'monument wars' that we understand to have taken place in the sanctuary, there are only a handful of such stories of refusal in the surviving literature.⁶⁹ The most infamous is when Themistokles offered the spoils of the Persians to the Pythia herself, to be placed in Apollo's temple or elsewhere in the sanctuary.⁷⁰ It is the Pythia - the mouthpiece of the god himself rather than any sanctuary official - who refused the gifts and told him to remove them from the sanctuary. There were, it seems, limits to what the god would accept, although Pausanias is very unsure as to why they were refused, and attributes it to the Pythia's foreknowledge that Themistokles was soon to befriend the Persians and would need their good will.⁷¹ The offerings were refused not

because they were wrong for the sanctuary, but because dedicating them would have been a wrong move by the dedicator himself.⁷²

Where does this discussion leave us on the question of design and placement and its implications for our understanding of the Siphnian Treasury and dedications in general at Delphi? The Siphnian Treasury - both its architecture and its architectural sculpture - was clearly not the result of one party. The eventual design, placement and construction were the result of a process of consultation and collaboration between a multitude of parties. This process probably did not include an equal say for all the parties in each stage. Moreover, distinguishing between the parties - saying that this piece of sculpture or that piece is a purely 'Siphnian' choice - becomes impossible when you consider how the Siphnians may themselves have been influenced in their choices by the trends, themes, constraints and opportunities presented by the space of the Delphi sanctuary at the time of the Treasury's construction.

To argue, therefore, that the Treasury is the result of only the Siphnians or the sanctuary is to vastly underestimate the complexity of the design and placement process. Instead, it is through an appreciation of an extremely complex, flexible and dynamic process of engagement between the Siphnian dedicators and the sanctuary of Delphi, that the final form of the Siphnian Treasury should be understood - a Treasury, which, as I outlined at the beginning of this article, has both appropriately religious ornamentation and showy disregard for 'Delphic restraint'.⁷³ A Treasury, whose architectural sculpture was both better than had been seen before and which contained little that was new and unknown.⁷⁴ A Treasury that was both simultaneously unique and similar to those around it within the sanctuary. It is the sheer dynamic variety of the Treasury's process of design and placement at Delphi, which is key to understanding the apparent opposites that scholars have struggled with in their interpretations of the Siphnian Treasury's sculpture. At the same time, this variety of influences for the Siphnian Treasury also underlines the probability that each monumental dedication in the sanctuary of Delphi will have had its own particular combination of influences rather than there being one process for all.⁷⁵ Indeed it is perhaps particularly at Delphi, a sanctuary open to a greater range of influences than other pan-hellenic sanctuaries, which were more under the control of a single authority,⁷⁶ that the processes of design and placement could be more dynamic, visible and result in such openly con-

tradictory traits within a particular dedication, which any interpretation of the sculpture must take into account.⁷⁷

NOTES

- * I would like to thank Robin Osborne, John Davies, Julia Shear and Graham Oliver for commenting on previous drafts of this paper. All remaining mistakes are my own.
- ¹ Cf. Ridgway 1999, 8.
 - ² For the considerable bibliography see Bommelaer 1991, 125-126. Also Partida 2000a, 35-47.
 - ³ Underpinning such questions are the complicated dynamics of agency and structure: see Dobres 2000, 127-149.
 - ⁴ E.g. Stewart 1990, 128-129. The Treasury is conventionally dated to 525 following Herodotus (3.57.1-58.4). For controversy, however, over the date see note 32 below.
 - ⁵ E.g. Moore 1977; 1985.
 - ⁶ E.g. Ridgway 1962.
 - ⁷ E.g. Watrous 1982.
 - ⁸ For references to earlier publications see Jacquemin 1999, 211-212.
 - ⁹ Neer 2000.
 - ¹⁰ Ridgway 1999.
 - ¹¹ Watrous 1982.
 - ¹² Knell 1998, 24-37.
 - ¹³ Brinkmann 1985.
 - ¹⁴ As noted in Partida 2000a, 40.
 - ¹⁵ Previous attempts to answer the question of design and placement at Delphi have focused on epigraphical evidence from the Hellenistic and Roman period. See Jacquemin 1999, 35, 106-107. Its application to the Archaic period is, however, fraught with difficulty and will not play a part in this discussion. Similar discussions on the question of design and placement have occurred about Athens: see Ridgway 1999, 193-195 for discussion. This debate feeds into the larger issue of the place of the artisan/artist in the ancient world: see Tanner 1999; 2000.
 - ¹⁶ In Athens for example, we know that no other statue was allowed near the Tyrannicides: *IG II² 450.b7-12* and 646. 37-40. We also know that design was sometimes overseen by committees: e.g. Aristotle *Ath. Pol.* 49.3 - the design of Athena Polias' robe - and *IG II² 403* - the repair of the statue of Athena Nike.
 - ¹⁷ *IG VI¹ 1568* - the Nike of Paionios at Olympia.
 - ¹⁸ Ridgway 1999, 204-205.
 - ¹⁹ Neer 2000, 147-148.
 - ²⁰ Ridgway 1999, 185, 205 and Neer 2000, 147-148. Moreover, both scholars seem to understand the agency of the Siphnians as something which cannot exist if one acknowledges the power of the sanctuary structures imposed upon them. It is either agency *or* structure. I argue instead here for their mutual dependence. See Dobres 2000, 133; Abrams 1982, 2.
 - ²¹ For discussions of this problem see Watrous 1982, 159-172 and Shapiro 1989, 61-64.
 - ²² For previous interpretations of the architectural sculpture of the Siphnian Treasury, see Neer 2000, 146 No. 4.
 - ²³ Snodgrass 1986, 54. Also at Olympia: Hölscher 1974, 70-111.
 - ²⁴ There is also the assumption that both the dedicating body and the sanctuary officials acted with complete unity. The model must instead factor in the possible influence of the disparate interests of individuals

- within these groups. See Dobres 2000, 133.
- ²⁵ Cf. Herodotus 3.57 and Pausanias 10.11.3.
 - ²⁶ For instance, contributing to the rebuilding of the Temple both in the 6th and 4th centuries did not give cities the right to choose its design or its architectural sculpture. Similarly, the Phocians had no say in the design of new and replacement dedications, which they were forced to pay for, following the Third Sacred war (Pausanias 10.25.7).
 - ²⁷ For poros limestone Treasuries: see Laroche/Nenna 1993. Marble treasuries: Daux/Hansen 1987, 26-28.
 - ²⁸ Settis 1994, 8-9.
 - ²⁹ The walls of the Treasury are made significantly thicker than its closest counterpart the Cnidian Treasury, plausibly so as to deal with the added weight of the decoration - see Bourguet 1929, 111.
 - ³⁰ Ridgway 1999, 190.
 - ³¹ Laroche/Nenna 1993 and Jacquemin 1993, 224.
 - ³² The date is actually quite controversial. See Bommelaer 1991, 125. Herodotus 3.57.1-58.4 dates it to before 525 BC. Francis/Vickers 1983, 54-69, argue for a date around 470 BC, but have been strongly criticized by Amandry 1988, 593-609.
 - ³³ Alcmaeonids responsible for temple: Herodotus 2.180.1 and 5.62.2. Burford 1969, 109. Who was, however, responsible for the enlargement, which preceded the temple being rebuilt? The traditional view is not the Alcmaeonids, as the enlargement seems to have been planned since the end of the First Sacred War: Coste-Messelière 1969, 244; 1946, 280. Recent excavation, however, has now dated the pre-548 peribolos wall to 580-570, indicating that the Amphictyony had only just invested in the sanctuary walls, and possibly the temple as well, before it burnt down and the post-548 enlargement was undertaken. See Luce 1992 and Sanchez 2001, 78.
 - ³⁴ The Amphictyony was operating at Delphi from the beginning of the 6th century: Amandry 1984, 7. See also Jacquemin 1993; Davies 1998, 2; Forrest 2000, 285; Sanchez 2001, 58-80 and Lefèvre 1998.
 - ³⁵ Jacquemin 1993, 225. Indeed the non-Amphictyonic Treasuries are the more elaborate ones: Jacquemin 1993, 224.
 - ³⁶ Jacquemin 1993, 221: Athens was a member of the Amphictyony, but its marble quarries were not yet in use to any great extent.
 - ³⁷ Davies 1998, 11; Jacquemin 1993, 225; Sanchez 2001, 80.
 - ³⁸ Coste-Messelière 1969, 734.
 - ³⁹ Hansen 1960, 411; Coste-Messelière 1946, 282; 1969, 744. The Sicyonian Treasury is probably the reconstruction of two buildings moved from this area: Bommelaer 1991, 118-123. It is possible that the six buildings were demolished because they had sustained fire damage, although there is little evidence to contradict or support this theory at present.
 - ⁴⁰ Ridgway 1999, 206.
 - ⁴¹ Jacquemin 1993, 224. The Alcmaeonids indeed went beyond their contract and dedicated marble for the temple front at their own expense, although this may have been part of a political maneuver to befriend the Spartans. Herodotus 5.62-5; Aristotle *Ath. Pol.* 19. For discussion see Forrest 1969.
 - ⁴² Indeed, except for the later Stoa of Attalus crossing the boundary wall, Delphi did not expand again at all in its entire history.
 - ⁴³ Especially if the dedicators were not (or no longer) in a powerful position to argue: many of the treasuries

- destroyed seem to have been dedicated by Western Greek colonies, whereas the ones to be relocated (Sicyonian Tholos and Monopteros) were closer to home. By the 4th and 3rd centuries, the management of dedications by the Amphictyony had become routine: see the Amphictyonic Law of 380 (lines 34-40) in Rougemont 1977, 117 (also Lefèvre 2002, No. 1); the removal of Phocian statues to outside the sanctuary temenos in 343 BC, (Bousquet 1989, 34, II, 56-62) and the account for renovation works of 247-246 BC, in Hellmann 1999, 70.
- ⁴⁴ Which itself must be an active, symbolic decision since it cannot be argued that there was no room in the old sanctuary space at this time.
- ⁴⁵ Daux/Hansen 1987, 50.
- ⁴⁶ Daux/Hansen 1987, 50-52; Hansen 1960, 387-433.
- ⁴⁷ Hansen 1960; Daux/Hansen 1987, 57, 69.
- ⁴⁸ Hansen 1960, 398. In comparison the boundary wall does not conform with the toichobate of the Sicyonian Treasury, but comes up to the first third of the wall. See Hansen 1960, 418 (Fig. 61).
- ⁴⁹ Their bosses, used for lifting the blocks into place, have not been removed. See Daux/Hansen 1987, 58.
- ⁵⁰ Daux/Hansen 1987, 233.
- ⁵¹ Daux/Hansen 1987, 72, 237. Identified by the use of wooden joining crampes between the limestone blocks.
- ⁵² Daux/Hansen 1987, 72 (walls v. foundations), 179 (frieze), 206/7 (pediment).
- ⁵³ Daux/Hansen 1987, Plans 104 and 105: Level S is the last layer of limestone before marble Level T (toichobate). Remains of toothed chisel marks on blocks S6, S7, S2, S3 and S10.
- ⁵⁴ Daux/Hansen 1987, 57; 1946, 281.
- ⁵⁵ Daux/Hansen 1987, 69-70.
- ⁵⁶ Daux/Hansen 1987, 174, fig. 25.
- ⁵⁷ Daux/Hansen 1987, 206-207.
- ⁵⁸ Daux/Hansen 1987, 234. See Gruben 1976, 240-241 who argues for Parian sculptors. For parallels see Snodgrass 1980, 141-143, 225.
- ⁵⁹ Daux/Hansen 1987, 237, 240. Especially as the Treasury has irregular dimensions: Daux/Hansen 1987, 235.
- ⁶⁰ For the existence of a permanent Parian marble workshop at Delphi, see Partida 2000b, 355-364. This is paralleled by evidence for a bronze workshop also on site at Delphi: Rolley 2002.
- ⁶¹ Daux/Hansen 1987, 234; 1936, 413-436; Ecole française d'Athènes 1991, 44.
- ⁶² Daux/Hansen 1987, 234.
- ⁶³ A question that has often been highlighted as needing further study - see Osborne 2004, 96.
- ⁶⁴ In Pausanias' description of Delphi, the only architectural sculpture he ever comments on is a few of the pedimental figures from the Temple. He never comments on the architectural sculpture (frieze or pediment) of any of the Treasuries. His focus is always on the building itself. See Pausanias 10.9. At Olympia, Pausanias does comment upon the architectural sculpture of the temple and the treasuries, but always in the context of the building. See Pausanias 5-6.
- ⁶⁵ Indeed Coste-Messelière argued that the architecture of the Siphnian Treasury borrows heavily (with elaboration) from the Knidian Treasury. He even goes so far as to suggest that the Siphnian order was simply 'make it the same, and embellish where you can' (my translation). Coste-Messelière 1928, 70.
- ⁶⁶ Ridgway 1965, 2.
- ⁶⁷ The Argives (Pausanias 10.9.12) and the Phocians for example (Pausanias 10.23.3).
- ⁶⁸ It is possible, for example, that the Siphnian Treasury displays a higher than usual level of collaboration due to the timing of its dedication, when the sanctuary itself was being so drastically altered.
- ⁶⁹ 'Monuments wars': such as at the entrance to the sacred way in the South East between the Athenians, Spartans and Arkadians in the 5th and 4th centuries. See Holmberg 1979, 38.
- ⁷⁰ Pausanias 10.14.5-6. Whether or not this event actually took place is uncertain - see Burn 1962.
- ⁷¹ Pausanias 10.14.6.
- ⁷² The refusal also of course serves as a handy *damnatio memoriae* for Themistokles after his retirement to Persia. Other stories of gifts being refused are told in Porphyrios, summed up in Nilsson 1967, 648-649. Along side this, we should also consider occasions when states are told that their dedication is insufficient. Herodotus (8.122) speaks of the Aeginetans, who were apparently forced to offer an extra dedication at Delphi, having been told by the Pythia that their contribution to the Serpent column monument put up by the Greek Alliance after the Battle of Plateia in 479 BC was insufficient. However Jacquemin argues that their second monument was erected of their own free will to counter Athenian claims that they had medized. Their second monument (golden starts on a bronze mast) was put closer to the Temple than any Athenian monument in order to emphasise the Aeginetans' renown. Jacquemin 1999, 251.
- ⁷³ Bourguet 1914, 70-72; Jacquemin 1999, 211-212.
- ⁷⁴ Coste-Messelière 1929, 129; 1936, 15; Moore 1977, 312.
- ⁷⁵ The design process for the Cyrenean Treasury has also recently been studied and characterised as a dynamic mix of influences between specialists, dedicators, sanctuary officials and local builders. See Partida 2000a, 172.
- ⁷⁶ Roux 1984, 104.
- ⁷⁷ My current Ph.D. research attempts such a project for the monumental dedications within the sanctuary of Delphi during the Archaic and Classical periods.

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Forms of Cult?

Temples with transverse cellae in Republican and early Imperial Italy

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Abstract

*This article presents an analysis of a particular temple type that first appeared during the Late Republic, the temple with transverse cella. In the past this particular cella-form has been interpreted as a solution to spatial constraints. In more recent times it has been argued that the cult associated with the temple was the decisive factor in the adoption of the transverse cella. Neither theory, when considered in isolation, can fully and convincingly explain the particular forms of both Republican and Imperial temples. Rather, it can be argued that a combination of pragmatic and above all aesthetic considerations has played a major role in the particular architecture of these temples.**

INTRODUCTION

In the fourth book of his famous treatise on architecture, Vitruvius mentions a specific temple-type, whose basic characteristic is that all the features normally found on the short side of the temple have been transferred to the long side. What this basically means is that the *pronaos* still constitutes the front part of the temple, but instead of being longitudinally developed, the *cella* is rotated 90° with respect to the *pronaos*.¹

The origin of this particular temple-type is not clear. The most likely candidate is the temple of Veiovis *inter Arcem et Capitolium*, but it is uncertain if the earliest phase of the building, dated in 194-193 BC already possessed a transverse cella. Besides the temple of Veiovis, Vitruvius himself only mentions two other examples of this peculiar temple type in Rome and the rest of Italy.

Archaeological research has brought to light some remains which brings the group of possible examples of temples with transverse cella up to eight, including the three Vitruvian examples. Of these, only three can be identified with absolute certainty as belonging to this category since these are the cases where the original ground plans of the temples can be fairly easily reconstructed on the basis of the archaeological remains of the structures themselves. These are the temple of Veiovis and the temple of Concordia Augusta in Rome and the temple of Apollo in Cumae. In another case, the temple of Castor and Pollux *in circo Flaminio*, the reconstruction with transverse cella seems fairly certain on the basis of secondary

archaeological evidence, even though the remains of the building itself have never been excavated. Furthermore, this is one of the temples actually mentioned by Vitruvius in his treatise. In yet another case, the temple of Aesculapius in the Latin colony of Fregellae, although construction activities have destroyed virtually the entire temple building, a reconstruction of a transverse *cella* nevertheless seems likely on the basis of the scant remains we do have. The temple of Diana Nemorensis on the shores of the Lago di Nemi is the last of the three buildings listed by Vitruvius, but in this case the archaeological evidence gathered so far even speaks against the inclusion of this temple in our group. Two other temples have traditionally been included in the list of temples with transverse *cella*, the Agrippan phase of the Pantheon in Rome and the Capitolium of Brixia (present-day Brescia).² These last two structures will be discussed in this paper to ascertain if they do indeed belong in this typological group.

On the basis of these introductory observations, we can cautiously conclude that this particular temple type does not hold a prominent position within the body of Roman religious architecture. However, this minor subset with its singular architectural characteristics does raise one interesting question: why were they built in this particular way? So far scholars have not been able to come up with a general explanation for the use of the transverse *cella*. The most common reason mentioned is that the latitudinal development was caused by spatial restraints, claiming that the *cella* of the temple was turned because a normal

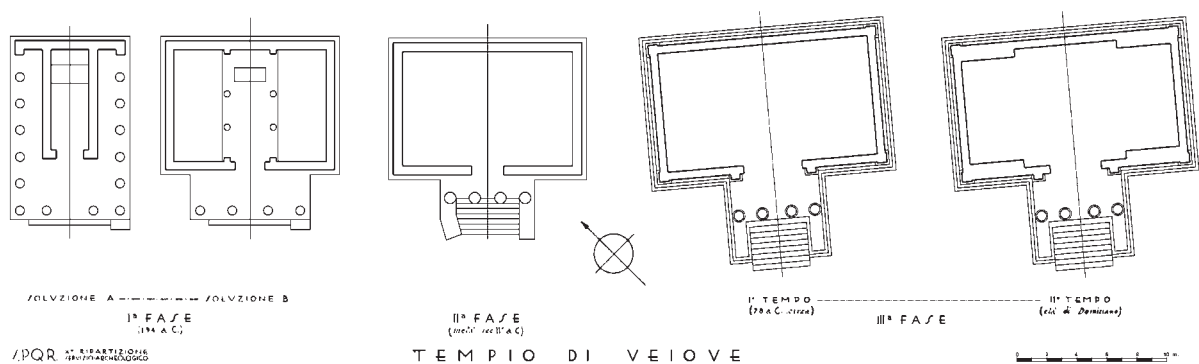


Fig. 1. Construction phases of the temple of Veiovis inter Arcem et Capitolium (after Colini 1942).

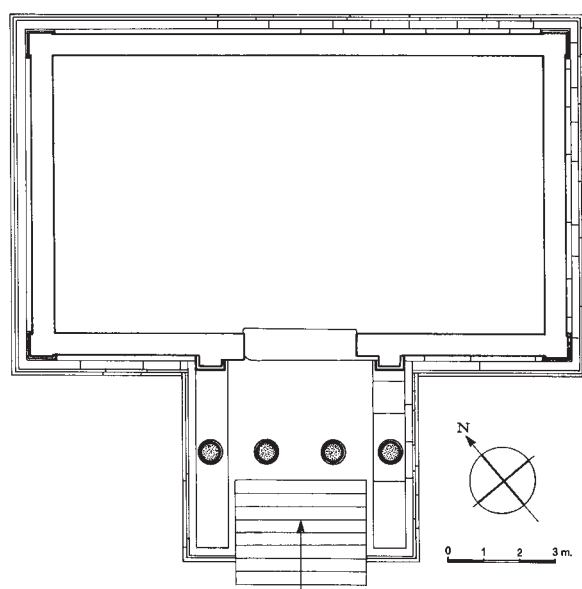


Fig. 2. Second construction phase of the temple of Veiovis (after Colini 1942).

cella would have taken up too much space.³

However, this explanation has been called into question in more recent times by Pier Giorgio Monti.⁴ His criticism of the spatial restraint theory is that in virtually all existing cases, the development of a traditional cella would have been possible and that the area taken up by a temple with transverse *cella* is not much smaller than a traditional temple.⁵ This leads to the hypothesis that the transverse *cella* is an adaptation to the traditional temple design brought about by cult necessities,⁶ which is illustrated by the example of the temples of Veiovis in Rome and Aesculapius in Fregellae. The observations made by Monti about these two structures will be summarised in this paper in the sections devoted to these two

structures, the oldest examples of temples with transverse *cella* known thus far.

Because Monti's article only deals with these two temples in relation to his theory, it would be interesting to expand on his research and include the entire group of temples with a possible transverse *cella*. Only an examination of the entire group permits us to establish if there is in fact a connection between the form and the cult of temples with transverse *cellae* in general. This paper will offer a description of the various temples which possibly have a transverse *cella* and ascertain if they indeed belong to this specific type. We shall see that several of the temples traditionally attributed to this group in fact do not have a transverse *cella* at all. Next, the cult associated with the temples with transverse *cella* will be examined. An attempt will be made for each period, Republican and Imperial, and for the group of temples as a whole, to establish if there is in fact a correlation between cult and transversality, and if so what this correlation might be.

THE EARLIEST EXAMPLES

Temple of Veiovis, Rome

The temple of Veiovis, discovered during excavations underneath the Palazzo Senatorio on the Piazza del Campidoglio in 1939, was built on the south-western corner of the Tabularium in Rome and seems to have undergone three major phases of construction during the Republican period (fig. 1).⁷ The temple was first dedicated in 192 by Quintus Marcius Rella, the last phase, probably built in conjunction with the vast structure of the Tabularium, was dedicated in 78. In this last phase, the temple had a *cella* that was almost twice as wide as it was deep (15 x 8.90 m), preceded by a narrow tetrastyle *pronaos*, thus exhibiting the

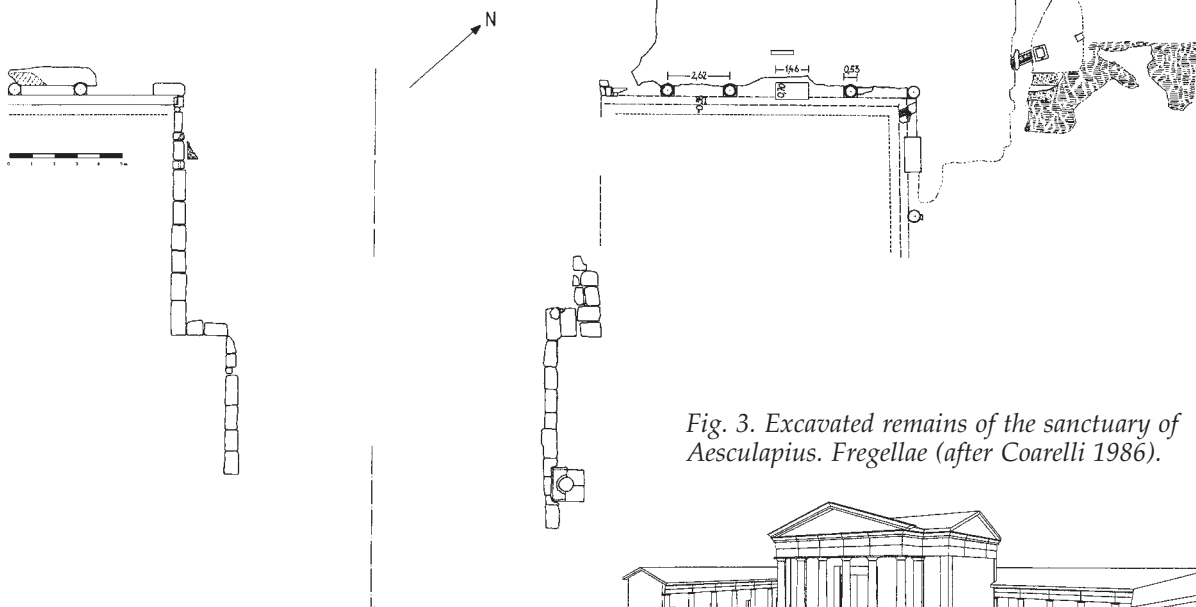


Fig. 3. Excavated remains of the sanctuary of Aesculapius. Fregellae (after Coarelli 1986).

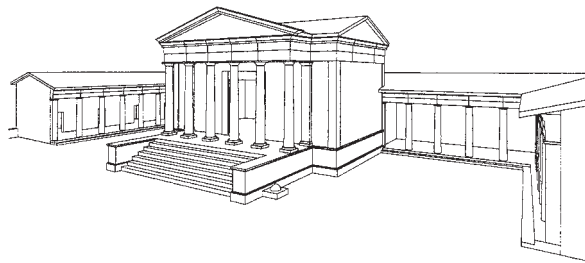


Fig. 4. Reconstruction drawing of the sanctuary of Aesculapius. Fregellae (after Monti 1999).

characteristics mentioned by Vitruvius (fig. 2).⁸ It is also certain that the second phase, to be placed near the middle of the 2nd century BC, had a transverse *cella*.⁹ However, we cannot be sure about the first phase, since the archaeological remains that can be related to this phase leave room for the reconstruction of a traditional *cella* as well as a transverse one.¹⁰

Monti raises some interesting points about this temple in his article. He proposes an explanation for the peculiar temple lay-out in the case of Veiovis, directly linking it to the cult of the god.¹¹ Although he admits that our evidence for this infernal deity, probably of Etruscan origin, is scarce, he hypothesizes that for a god who inhabits the most foul region of the heavens and whose very name sounds like that of an 'anti-Jupiter', a special 'anti-entrance' had to be created more suited to the extraordinary and 'contrary' qualities of the deity.¹² This intriguing notion would have been greatly strengthened had we had at our disposal the archaeological remains of other temples dedicated to this deity with the same general form. From the sources, we know of only one other possible shrine dedicated to the deity, on the Tiber Island in Rome, but we have no clue which form the building had, if it even existed.¹³

Temple of Aesculapius, Fregellae

The earliest example of a temple with transverse *cella* outside of Rome is almost certainly the temple of Aesculapius in Fregellae (fig. 3). The sanc-

tuary dedicated to the god of healing can be dated in the third quarter of the 2nd century BC, and although very little remains of the central *aedes*, a lining of *tufa* blocks enables us to ascertain its global form. The difference in the weathering of these blocks has led the excavators to suppose that they might have borne the facing of the podium core, probably constructed in *opus caementicium*.¹⁴ If we accept this hypothesis this means that the temple did indeed have a transverse *cella*, 18.20 m wide and 14.80 m long, with a *pronaos* 13.85/13.95 m wide and 8 m long at most.¹⁵ Attached to the central temple building were two L-shaped colonnades, thus forming a *porticus triplex* with the *aedes* interposed in the central section (fig. 4).

A fragment of an altar was found *ex situ*, with an inscription that reads:¹⁶

[...]f. Aisc[o]lap[io]

It is through this inscription that we can identify the monumental Republican sanctuary as an Asklepieion. In this respect it is most important, being as it is the only sacred complex of a monu-

mental nature in central Italy that can be ascribed to Aesculapius with certainty.¹⁷ However, it is uncertain in which period exactly this cult was introduced at Fregellae. We have a large amount of anatomical terracotta's at our disposal that can be dated to the late 4th or early 3rd century BC, thus providing evidence that the location was in use as a cult place associated with health and healing from an early date, roughly simultaneous with the creation of the colony itself.¹⁸ We do not know if the divinity worshipped here during that initial phase was Aesculapius. The worship of water nymphs, such as Mefitis and Feronia, was very popular in the region during the mid-Republican period and it is very possible that they were also the focus of the early cult at Fregellae, to be supplanted by the cult of Aesculapius only later.¹⁹ Because of the chronological uncertainty of the introduction of the cult at Fregellae, it is also impossible to establish whether it preceded or followed the introduction of the cult at Rome. It is important to keep this fact in mind when considering the relationship between the Fregellan cult of Aesculapius and the Roman cult of Veiovis.

Veiovis, Aesculapius and the transverse cella

Since they form the earliest known examples of the use of a transverse *cella* in Italic religious architecture, the pair of temples described above can be said to set a benchmark against which the other temples with transverse *cellae* should be compared. Therefore, the logic behind the use of a transverse *cella* in the case of these two specific cults should be made very clear. The rationale has already been discussed in connection to the temple of Veiovis, mentioning the negative aspects of the cult and the apparent need to counter these with an altered entrance to the temple, placed on the long side, an 'anti-entrance' offsetting the various unwanted aspects of the cult. This implies a special architectural preoccupation with matters of cult at the time of construction not expressed before, since before the early 2nd century BC a transverse *cella* was not deemed to be necessary in temple construction to offset potentially harmful aspects of a cult. Rather, especially in the case of foreign cults newly introduced in Rome, the cult or certain aspects of the cult were altered to make sure that the cult would be situated correctly within the religious system.²⁰ A possible explanation for the introduction of the transverse *cella* at this specific point in time is that there is some indication that the Senate of Rome was reasserting itself as the prominent religious authority.²¹ In

the case of the temple of Veiovis this was made evident by the fact that the official who had originally vowed the temple, the consul Lucius Furius Purpurio, was denied the subsequent dedication, therefore depriving him of the *gloria* offered by the *dedicatio*.²² Under these circumstances, it is possible that the preoccupation with correct religious behaviour and the control of matters religious could have ultimately lead to the introduction of a different temple design for certain extraordinary cults.

Having provided the explanation for the transverse *cella* of the temple of Veiovis, Monti goes on to suggest a connection between the cults of Veiovis and Aesculapius.²³ The Greek god of healing, first brought to Rome in 292 BC after a great pestilence epidemic, had his temple built on Tiber Island, the same place where the possible second shrine dedicated to Veiovis was located. Besides this geographic connection, both cults celebrated their founding on the 1st of February, also suggesting cultic affinity. The establishment of a connection between the cults of Veiovis and Aesculapius, in itself unexceptional and already to be found in some other literature, does not, however, explain why the temple of the Greek god of healing should warrant special modifications. What is so exceptionally 'contrary' about his cult that a transverse *cella* should be used in his temple? There is no evidence to suggest that the Romans or other Italic peoples considered Aesculapius to be so alien. The only particular features of the cult are its Greek origin and its faint chthonic connotations.²⁴ Greek, or foreign, origins are not uncommon in Roman religion and have never lead to dramatic alterations to temple architecture and it can be argued that the chthonic elements were of minor importance, if at all, in the official Greek and Roman cults of Asklepios/Aesculapius.²⁵

Apart from the questionability of strong chthonic elements in the Roman cult of Aesculapius, it is uncertain if the cult of the god in Fregellae indeed reached the colony through the mediation of Rome. Both the participation of Fregellae in the Roman expansion wars and the presence of Fregellan *negotatores* in the East make it very possible that it was through direct contact that the Fregellans were introduced to the cult of the Greek god of healing.²⁶ Certain architectural similarities between the sanctuary at Fregellae and the sanctuary of Asklepios at the island of Kos could be construed as strengthening this claim.²⁷ Since we are unsure at what time the cult of Aesculapius was introduced at Fregellae, we cannot be certain either if the Roman and Fregellan cults are completely similar.



Fig. 5. Marble slab found on the via Anicia.
Rome, Museo Nazionale Romano
(after Conticello de' Spagnolis 1984).

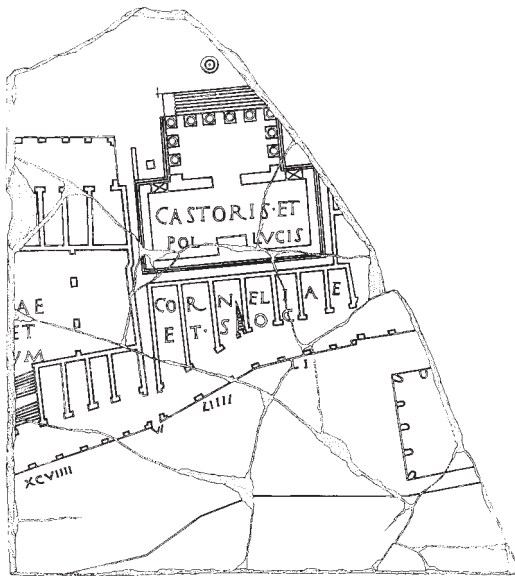


Fig. 6. Graphic reproduction of the via Anicia marble slab (after Conticello de' Spagnolis 1984).

Interestingly, the English abstract of one of Monti's articles says that it links the transverse *cella* to Apollo, Veiovis and Aesculapius as gods of heal-

ing and health.²⁸ Not only is this premise never elaborated in the actual article, it raises even more questions. Why would temples of these three gods of healing need a transverse *cella*? In fact the explanation put forward in Monti's article for the transverse *cella* itself only relates to the specific cult of Veiovis and his infernal, contrary qualities, never mentioning health or healing as a reason. The connection in this case between *cella* and cult are not its healing aspects, but chthonicity or related unwanted, negative aspects of the cult. Although these two characteristics (chthonicity and healing) can certainly be connected and often are, there is insufficient evidence to accept the healing aspects of the cult as an explanation for the use of a transverse *cella*.²⁹

Since these two cults and temples do not provide us with a clear picture, it is paramount to examine if the other temples with transverse *cella*, from both the Republican and Imperial periods, can perhaps provide us with answers.

OTHER TEMPLES WITH TRANSVERSE CELLA OF THE REPUBLICAN PERIOD

Temple of Castor and Pollux, Rome

Although no remains of the temple of Castor and Pollux *in circo Flaminio* have been excavated, it is one of the examples of temples with transverse *cellae* found in the passage by Vitruvius already mentioned. Furthermore, a fragment of a marble slab was found during excavations on the via Anicia, a part of a *Forma Urbis Marmorea*, older than the famous Severan one,³⁰ and more precisely of the *Circus Flaminius* area, on which is depicted a temple dedicated to Castor and Pollux with precisely those characteristics mentioned by Vitruvius (figs. 5, 6).³¹ The complex measured 24.96 x 25.68 m, with a *cella* 9.60 x 21.80 m and a *pronaos* 8.88 x 15.60 m.³²

Traditionally, the introduction of the cult of Castor and Pollux in Rome has been linked with the battle between Romans and Latins at Lake Regillus in 496 BC, where the intervention of the divine twins helped to secure a Roman victory.³³ During the Republic, the image of Castor and Pollux, often mounted and with stars on their headdresses, is used to symbolise a victorious Rome.³⁴ The original Greek myth, where Pollux shares his immortality with his twin brother who has died in battle, certainly reveals that there are chthonic aspects to the original cult, since the twins have to reside in the heavens and in the underworld alternately.³⁵ As we have seen how-

ever, the dominant aspect of the Roman cult is the role of the twins as military heroes, and was of central importance to the Roman state. There is little in the Roman cult itself that would explain the use of a transverse *cella* to undo any negative effects of the cult. Another important fact to remember is that the Forum Romanum housed another temple dedicated to the divine twins that had a perfectly 'normal', longitudinally developed layout.

Temple of Diana Nemorensis, Lago di Nemi

The temple of Diana Nemorensis is another one of the Vitruvian examples. The sanctuary of the goddess has been identified on the shores of the lake Nemi, but so far the identification of the main temple building of the sanctuary has proved to be problematic. On the vast porticated terrace a rectangular building (fig. 7, K) has sometimes been identified as the temple of Diana. However, this structure is neither centrally located on the terrace,³⁶ nor does it have a transversely placed *cella*. The possibility remains that the temple mentioned by Vitruvius was located on a higher terrace, where a mid-19th century drawing by Pietro Rosa shows a temple with a possible transverse *cella* (fig. 8), and where recent excavations have produced evidence of structures in *opus caementicium* (fig. 7, V). Until further research and the publication of its results at this location have been executed, the inclusion of the temple of Diana Nemorensis in the typology under discussion must remain uncertain.³⁷ Since research has demonstrated that the other Italic examples cited by Vitruvius do indeed have a transverse *cella*, it would seem strange that he should have included a temple only some 50 kilometres from Rome without this particular feature.

The cult of Diana at Nemi has always caught the imagination of writers and scientists throughout the ages, especially in combination with her ritual priesthood, the *rex nemorensis*, a runaway slave who had to challenge and kill his predecessor to obtain the position as high priest of Diana Nemorensis.³⁸ It was commonly believed that at the Lake of Nemi was located a doorway to the netherworld and the goddess worshipped there exhibited many traits that could be thought of as un-Roman. Worshipped as the Trivia, Diana Nemorensis was mistress of the celestial, earthly and netherworldly domains in her capacity as respectively Selene, Artemis and Hekate.³⁹ Diana was worshipped as a goddess associated particularly with the uncultivated, the world of the dead and

the night, with women and slaves. As such she was directly opposed, or at least peripheral, to important values such as civilized society, the orderly urban space, the world of the living, the day and male spheres.⁴⁰

The case of the Republican temples: Chthonicity?

For these four temples alone, it is difficult to establish a common denominator which could help us determine the possible reason for the use of the transverse *cella*. A case could be made for the cults of Veiovis and Aesculapius, where the binding factors can be identified as either a relationship to Apollo and the healing cults or the presence of chthonic elements. Similar characteristics can also be said to apply to the cult of Diana Nemorensis. This inherently Latin goddess seems to have undergone a process of hellenisation during the late Republic, equating her with Artemis and Hekate. Thus, this cult seems to fit perfectly into the series established by the cults of Veiovis and Aesculapius. But, as we have seen, it is already possible to call the relationship between the Roman cult of Veiovis and the Fregellan cult of Aesculapius into question. Furthermore, the translation of these curative and/or chthonic characteristics to the cult of the Castores, is less clear-cut. Although the mythology concerning the divine twins certainly have enough chthonic elements, it is highly questionable that these aspects were stressed in their official Roman cult. Nor is the cult particularly associated with either the figure of Apollo or healing aspects, therefore making this temple and its cult the odd one out in our Republican list of temples with transverse *cella*.

The main problem with this group of temples is that it lacks cohesion. Although all cults display a certain, in some cases decidedly minor, degree of chthonicity, it somehow seems forced to label this aspect of the cult as such an important characteristic that it should be necessary to alter the appearance of the temple for it. Another fundamental problem is the vague connection observed above between the cults of Veiovis and Aesculapius. We know of a certain relationship or affinity between the Roman cults of the two gods, indicated by the same date for the celebration of their founding, but we cannot be absolutely sure whether the Fregellan cult was the same as the Roman one. Therefore, besides a rather heterogeneous group of cults, we have to deal with a weak common foundation to begin with, the precise relationship between the two earliest cults associated with the transverse *cella* remaining unclear.

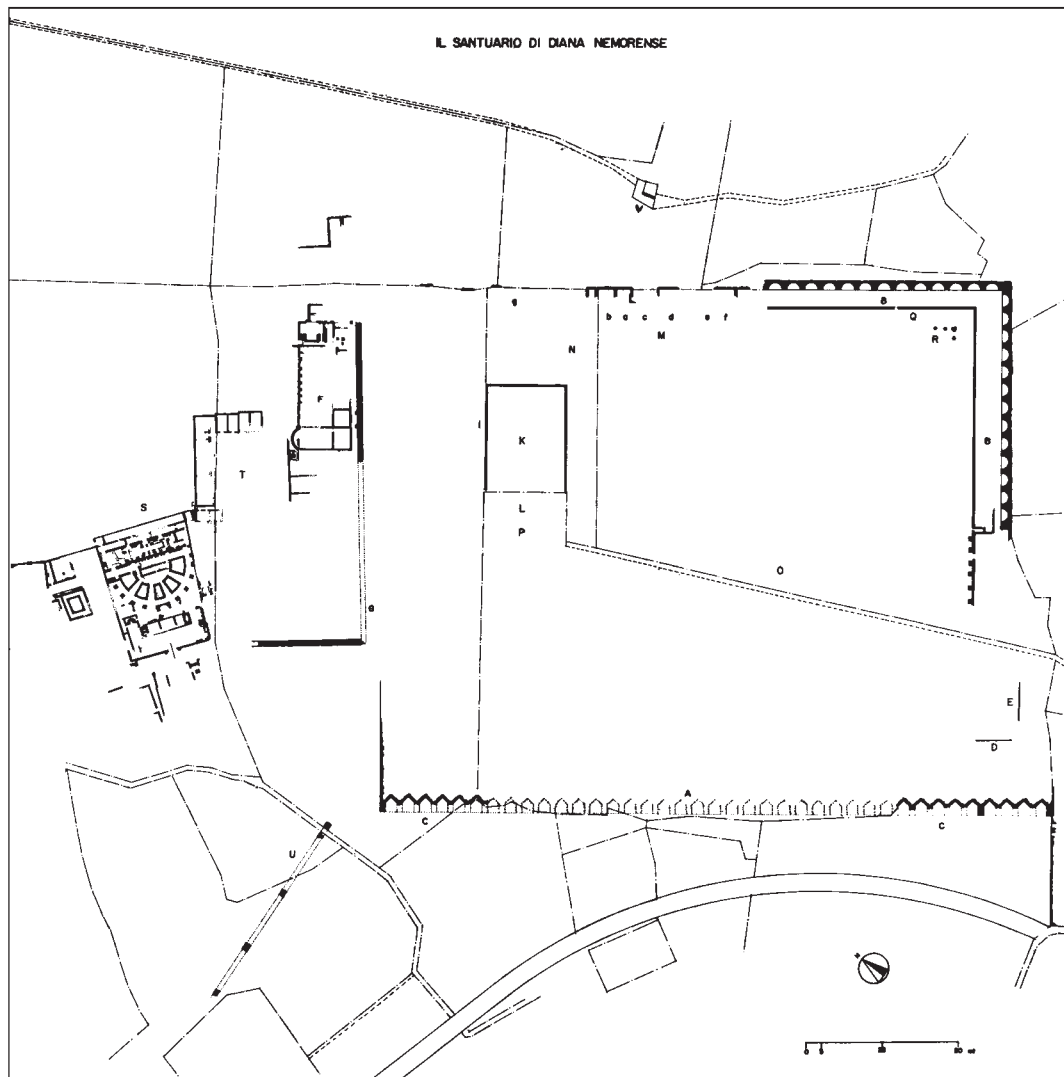


Fig. 7. Excavated remains of the sanctuary of Diana Nemorensis. Nemi (after Ghini 1993).

We now turn to the examples of temples from the Imperial age to see if they can shed some light on the situation.

TEMPLES OF THE IMPERIAL PERIOD

Pantheon, Rome

The Pantheon under discussion here is not the famous Hadrianic building, but its Augustan predecessor, the temple actually built in 27 BC by Marcus Vipsanius Agrippa whose name still appears on the facade of the later structure. The foundations of the Republican temple are still partly preserved underneath the front porch of

the 2nd-century Imperial building (fig. 9). In addition, two earlier pavement-levels have been discovered beneath that of the Hadrianic structure and a circular enclosure wall 0.60 m wide. This suggests that the earlier temple had the same basic lay-out as the later structure, consisting of a rectangular *pronaos* and a circular enclosure, although it is highly unlikely that the 0.60 m wide wall could have sustained a full dome, and was therefore probably hypaethral.⁴¹ Also, contrary to some earlier theories, the buildings had the same orientation, facing the north. The Agrippan *pronaos* was 43.70 m wide and was either decastyle or octastyle with two *antae* at either end connected to the side walls of the *pronaos*. Leading up to the

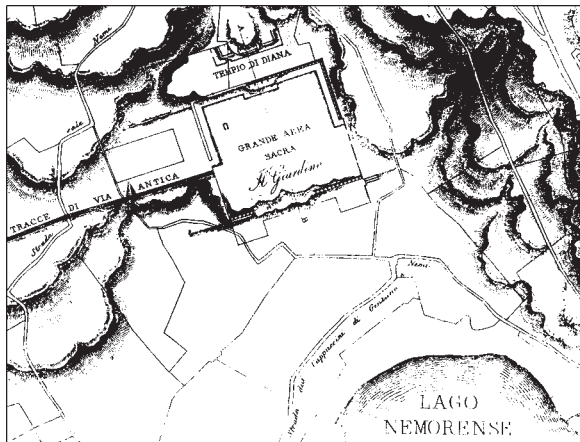
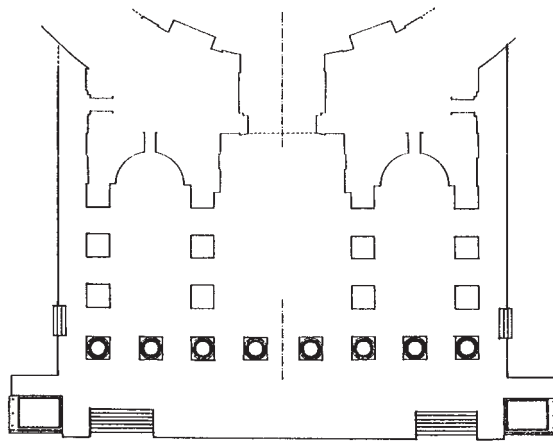
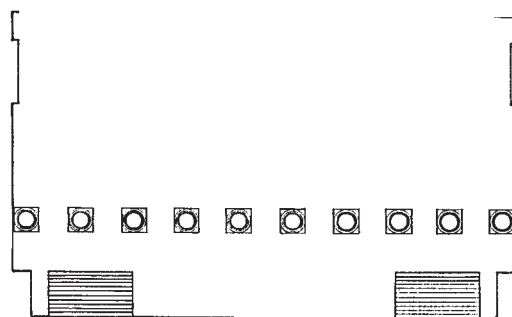


Fig. 8. Drawing by Pietro Rosa of the sanctuary of Diana Nemorensis. Nemi (after Rosa 1856).



FASE ADRIANEA



FASE AUGUSTEA

0 5 10 15 20 25 MT

Fig. 9. Augustan and Hadrianic phases of the pronaos of the Pantheon. Rome (after La Rocca 1999).

podium was a staircase, consisting of ten travertine steps 0.37 m. long and 0.21 m. high, to the south of the porch another staircase gave access to the circular enclosure.⁴² With this recent evidence in mind, it is questionable whether the Agrippan Pantheon should be included in our list of temples with transverse *cella*. The extent of the *pronaos* is unknown: we therefore do not know if the rectangular podium belonging to the Agrippan structure consisted of both a *pronaos* and a *cella*. It is possible that this entire rectangle constituted the *pronaos*, with the circular structure to be identified as the '*cella*' of the temple. It is unclear if the building was intended as a shrine to the most important Roman gods from the start or if it indeed became such a place in later times,⁴³ but was rather intended as an Augustan family shrine dedicated to the two gods most near to the Julian family, Mars and Venus. Originally, Agrippa had even planned the building as an *Augusteum*, with a statue of Augustus to be placed inside. Upon his refusal, only the statue of his great-uncle and adoptive father Julius Caesar was placed inside, with those of Augustus and Agrippa himself outside in the *pronaos*.⁴⁴ The building would remain closely linked to the imperial cult, while it might have had other functions as well. Although it is in many ways a striking, even unique building, already in its Republican phase, fact of the matter is that with the recent archaeological research in mind, it is highly doubtful that the Pantheon actually belongs to the group of temples with transverse *cella*. Therefore, the Pantheon and its cult will not be included in the main argument of this article.

Temple of Apollo, Cumae

The temple of Apollo in the Greek colony of Cumae was built in the early 5th century BC (fig. 10). Of this probably peripteral temple only the rectangular base, measuring about 31 x 18.30 m, remains, built with large blocks of yellow *tufa* stone and orientated northeast-southwest.⁴⁵ The remains of the elevation of the temple, still partly visible today, are constructed in *opus reticulatum* and *opus latericium* and can be related to the restructuring activities of the Augustan period, during which the appearance of the building was altered substantially. Retaining a basic peripteral layout of 6 by 10 columns, a new hexastyle *pronaos*, with a foundation in *opus caementicium*, was added to the long, southeast side of the temple, thus shifting its orientation 90° towards the west and now facing the underlying city instead of the coast.

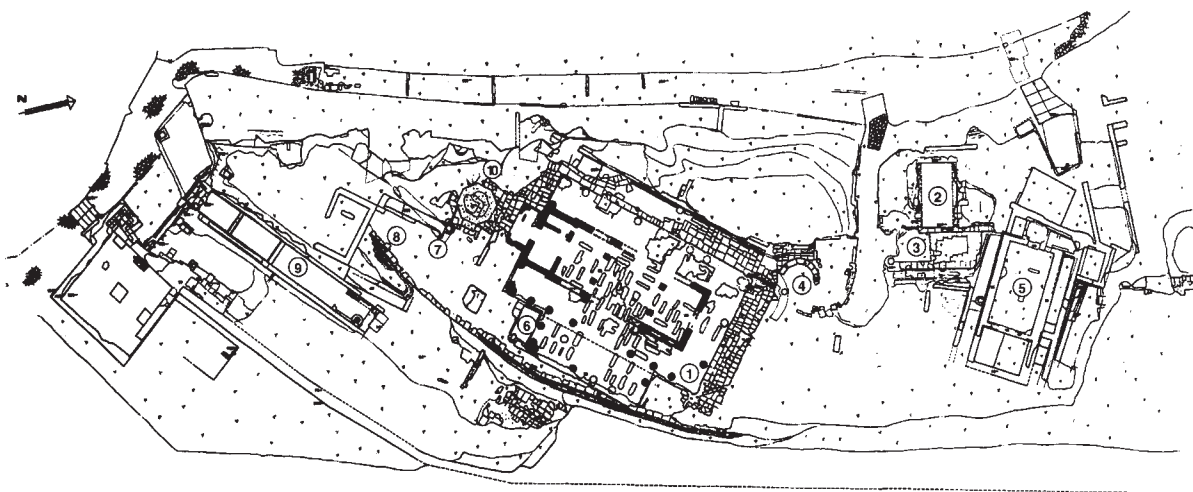


Fig. 10. Excavated remains of the sanctuary of Apollo, Cumae (after Caputo et al. 1996).

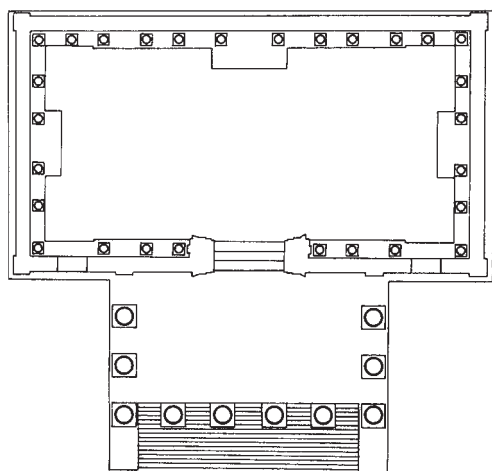


Fig. 11. Ground plan of the temple of Concordia, Tiberian phase, Rome (after La Rocca 1999).

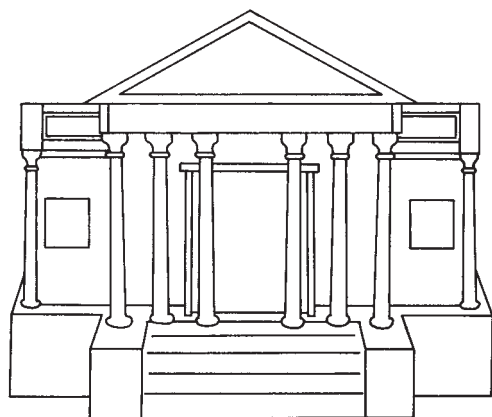


Fig. 12. Reconstruction drawing of the façade of the temple of Concordia, Tiberian phase, based on coins from AD 35-37 (after La Rocca 1999).

According to tradition it was here that Daidalos, after his flight from Knossos and the loss of his son Ikaros, dedicated a temple to Apollo as a symbol of the sun and its destructive powers, offering his own wings of wax to the god.⁴⁶ Apollo was indeed worshipped at Cumae as a sun god after the Greek colonisation and it was from this place that his cult was spread across the rest of Italy and eventually Rome itself. Cumae was also the place of origin of the Sibylline prophecies, which played a vital role in Roman religious life. The cult of Apollo was also closely connected to the *gens Iulia* and it is known that Augustus restored and beautified temples to the god in Rome and built a new temple dedicated to Apollo next to his house on the Palatine.⁴⁷ In the Augustan ideology, the cult of Apollo symbolised the new golden age that would commence under his rule.⁴⁸

Temple of Concordia Augusta, Rome

In the northwest corner of the Forum Romanum the temple of Concordia Augusta was placed. The ruins visible today are mostly of the Tiberian reconstruction between 7 BC and 10 AD (figs. 11, 12). The original temple was vowed to Concordia in 367 BC by Furius Camillus in celebration of the agreement reached between patricians and plebeians after the civil unrest caused by the passing of the Licinian laws, although some of the remains can be attributed to an earlier restoration by Lucius Opimius in 121 BC. Immediately in front of the building ran the *via Sacra*, to the back rose the immense foundations of the Tabularium. Although it is not exactly clear if the temple of Opimius had

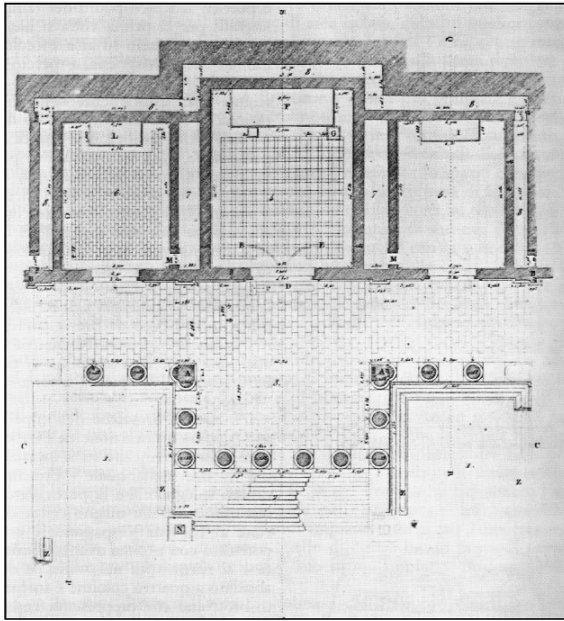


Fig. 13. Ground plan of the Capitulum of Brixia, present-day Brescia (after Brescia Romana 1979).

the same ground plan as the later Tiberian building, thus already placing the phase with transverse *cella* in 121 BC, recent excavations and research of the structure and its various building phases suggest that it was not until the Tiberian phase that the temple got its characteristic *cella*, almost twice as wide as it is long (43.40 x 22.70 m).⁴⁹

The cult of Concordia was a symbol for the harmony within the Roman state, and the temple itself was frequently used to house meetings of the Senate after its restoration by Lucius Opimius. Later, as the cult of Concordia Augusta, it symbolised the harmony within the imperial family as a microcosm for the entire Roman state, symbolising in yet another way the Augustan idea of the universal peace brought about by imperial rule, the *Pax Augusta*, and thus being effectively appropriated for personal propaganda ends.⁵⁰

Capitolium, Brixia

The Capitulum of Brixia (present-day Brescia) was erected between AD 73 and 74 by Vespasian on top of a Republican sanctuary with a quadruple *cella*, and is frequently added to the list of temples containing a transverse *cella*.⁵¹ The actual temple consists of a single, wide (41.80 m) *pronaos* with a 15.65 m wide central hexastyle part that extends beyond the lateral parts, both 8.60 m wide. Behind this elaborate *pronaos*, three *cellae* are placed,

of which the middle one is the largest, with dimensions of 11.87 x 14.63 m, with both of the other *cellae* measuring roughly 9 x 12 m (fig. 13).⁵² Each of these *cellae* contained an altar and probably housed a cult statue of one of the gods belonging to the Capitoline triad.

Although the facade of the structure certainly gives the impression that it has a transverse *cella*, it actually contains three separate *cellae*, and each with a 'normal' disposition. Examining the floor plan of the building, one gets the impression that the Brescian Capitulum has been designed as a centrally placed regular temple with an additional *cella* added to each side. We can therefore conclude that it does not really belong to the typology discussed in this article, since it does not actually have a transverse *cella* but only appears to because of the form of the facade.

The case of the Imperial temples: Augustan imperial cult?

Luckily, the Imperial temples display a lot more cohesion as a group than the Republican ones. Without exception, the three temples listed above are associated, either directly or indirectly, with Augustus and imperial propaganda. However, none of the characteristics mentioned thus far as possible explanations for the use of the transverse *cella* in Republican temples, be it curative or chthonic, can be recognised in the cults associated with the two Imperial temples which can be firmly placed within the typology. This means that the characteristics associated with the transverse *cella* in Republican times were no longer connected to this form in Imperial times. However, it is highly questionable that this form was particularly and foremost linked to the Imperial cult from the Principate of Augustus onwards. This can be illustrated by the different ways of realization of the various temples.

Of the three temples, the temple of Apollo at Cumae was the result of an alteration, namely the adding of a new *pronaos* to shift the original orientation westwards. This is a prime example of the use of an original structure but altering its ideological or propagandistic contents through the use of structural adjustments. In the case of the temple of Concordia Augusta, it seems that its particular form can indeed be explained by the argument most often used to explain the transverse *cella*: spatial constraints. Wedged in between the *via Sacra* and the *Tabularium*, the only way to expand the temple within this fixed area was sideways.

Although linking the adoption of a ground plan with transverse *cella* to the cult practice of the worshipped deity is an attractive one, there is insufficient direct evidence to fully support such a theory. The divinities to whom the Republican examples were dedicated seem to share certain chthonic qualities between them, but, especially in the case of the *Castores* and Aesculapius, these qualities are not particularly strong and would hardly warrant a modification to their temples. Perhaps in the earliest applications of the transverse *cella*, there were indeed cult-related issues that favoured, or even necessitated its use, but the exact circumstances under which this was deemed to be necessary remain unclear. Even if we were to accept chthonic qualities as an explanation for the use of a transverse *cella*, the use of this particular *cella* in temples associated with the Imperial cult is inexplicable, since we surely cannot characterize the cults of Concordia or Apollo as having strong chthonic elements. If chthonic or 'contrary' aspects of the cult were the reasons for its use in the first place, by the time of the late 1st century BC the transverse *cella* has lost its negative associations altogether.⁵³

These particular temples seem to represent an isolated category within Roman architecture and never attained any kind of canonical status.⁵⁴ This typological isolation can also be seen as another argument against the explanation of the particular form by its associated cult. If some cults are inherently connected to the transverse *cella*, we would expect to find a much larger number of these structures in the archaeological records.

Another thing we should take into account is that Vitruvius himself does not give an explanation for the use of the transverse *cella*. If its use in temple design was governed by cult, would we not expect some sort of reference to this fact in the relevant passage? Although we must be cautious in using these 'arguments from silence', it is nevertheless interesting to consider. Elsewhere, Vitruvius does indeed offer explanations for the specific locations of certain temples, especially if these locations are somewhat unusual.⁵⁵ The fact that Vitruvius remains silent about the instances in which the adoption of a transverse *cella* would be necessary can be interpreted in two ways: either he does not know or the explanation is not significant enough for him to include in the text. Since religious regulations for the use of a transverse *cella* would undoubtedly have been known to Vitruvius, as he was active as an architect him-

self, it is difficult to explain the exclusion by ignorance on such matters.⁵⁶ Thus, Vitruvius' silence in this matter could be interpreted as a sign that the explanation for the use of a transverse *cella* is not significant and therefore does not have religious origins, since this would have surely been mentioned.

The question remains then what position we should give these temples within the corpus of Roman religious architecture. The seeming unlikelihood of a cultic explanation for the transverse *cella* forces us to consider the problem from a different angle. Something that has not been discussed until now is the question whether the form of the *cella* itself has an important religious significance. A cultic explanation for the transverse *cella* is only necessary if it can be established that the 'traditional', longitudinal development of the *cella* is important in a religious sense. The corpus of Roman and Italic temples offers us a veritable plethora of *cella* sizes and shapes. Among these shapes we can also find *cellae* that are square, or virtually square, and temples that follow a centralized design scheme.⁵⁷ During the late Republic, it therefore seems that we can observe a certain artistic freedom regarding the design and form of temples and sanctuaries, which can help to explain the introduction of the transverse *cella*. Not religious doctrine, but development and alteration in architectural design provide the basis for this exceptional form.

Furthermore, in a period where the scenographic qualities of architecture, notably in the construction of sanctuaries, play an ever-increasing role, we must not disregard the visual implications of the use of the transverse *cella*. Most of the temples in which it is used are placed in a prominent position in the surrounding landscape, often on a place already accentuated by its elevation.⁵⁸ It is possible that the transverse development of the *cella* was used to direct attention to the temple building itself by adding extra bulk to the structure. Especially when placed in a high position, or visible from a distance, this would make the structure stand out from its surroundings. The one structure of which we know almost as a fact that a new *pronaos* was added as a means towards a visual end is the temple of Apollo at Cumae. Here, it serves to redirect attention to a different part of the building, to change the visual focus of the building.⁵⁹ Although this does not prove the theory that the transverse *cella* was used as some sort of 'eye catcher', it does indicate that the way in which a temple was perceived was important, at least in early imperial times but most probably

also before. It also indicates that structural changes to a building could be used to redirect the attention of the viewer, altering the way in which the temple and its connection to surrounding structures and landscape was perceived.

In sum, it is the visual impact of a building and a certain degree of pragmatism from an architectural viewpoint rather than religious considerations which define the use of the transverse *cella*.

CONCLUSION

The overview given here questions the hypothesis that the temple with transverse *cella* is inherently associated with chthonic or healing cults, or any specific cult for that matter. Although all Republican examples are related to cults which seem to have a chthonic undertone, its faintness in most cases rules it out as a sufficiently plausible explanation for the particular temple form. And although it is striking that virtually every example of the Imperial era is more or less connected to the Imperial cult, in all these cases convenience, as much as cult, seems to have played a pivotal role in the use of this particular temple type.

The alternative theory suggested in this article claims that the temples with transverse *cella* are related to a certain degree of pragmatism in temple design. However, the fact that a regular temple could have been built in all cases reviewed in this article suggests that pragmatism is not the only reason for the use of the transverse *cella*. Rather, aesthetic considerations, especially when related to propagandistic and ideological issues, should not be ignored when trying to explain this particular *cella* type. To enlarge a temple almost indefinitely means to expand it in all three dimensions, height, width and length. The expansion sideways of the *cella* is one way of enlarging the size, and therefore the visual impact, of a temple while leaving the general proportions, especially of the *pronaos*, intact.

The 'solution' for the problem of the transverse *cella* proposed in this article has several advantages with respect to the theories of either spatial constraint or cultic necessity.

First of all, it treats the transverse *cella* as an architectural choice, to be relatively freely made by either architect or patron commissioning the building. This eliminates the problem that the other theories created, namely that certain cases always warrant a transverse *cella*, a claim that cannot be persuasively proven. Although the search for 'hard' determining causes is certainly understandable, especially in a research field such as

archaeology, we must not go so far as to completely eliminate mentality and free will just because it is difficult to prove and will in some ways always remain conjectural.

Secondly, the idea of the transverse *cella* as a result of a certain degree of 'architectural experimentation' seems to fit the period very well indeed. Confronted with the great examples of Greek architecture during the expansion wars in the East, religious architecture appears to have attained a certain sense of stylistic freedom. Not only is this demonstrated by the wider range of temple buildings in Rome itself,⁶⁰ but it is also demonstrated by the construction of the great terrace sanctuaries of Latium.⁶¹ Although certain general principles still apply,⁶² rigid rules concerning religious architecture seem to have been largely absent.

Lastly, and perhaps most importantly, this proposal eliminates the problem of the heterogeneity of the mentioned temples. It takes into account some general aspects of the temples, but does not seek to place them in the straightjacket of a single determining cause. The search for these single determinants often leave the impression of being slightly forced and can lead to a certain degree of tunnel vision, seeing only the aspect of a phenomenon which suits the theory.

The transverse *cella* is not necessarily the dogmatic application of a certain form, used only in certain instances when the specific cult calls for it, but can be interpreted as yet another form of the architectural experimentation not uncommon during the late Republican period.

NOTES

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¹ Vitruvius, *De Arch.* 4.8.4: *Item generibus aliis constituuntur aedes ex isdem symmetriis ordinatae et alio genere dispositiones habentes, uti est Castoris in circo Flaminio, et inter duos lucos Veiovis, item argutius Nemori Dianae columnis adiectis dextra ac sinistra ad umeros pronai. Hoc autem genere primo facta est, uti est Castoris in Circo, Athenis in arce et in Attica Sunio Palladis Mineruae. Earum non aliae sed eadem sunt proportionibus. Cellae enim longitudinibus duplices sunt ad latitudines uti reliquae, etsi omnia quae solent esse in frontibus, ad latera sunt translata.* See Gros 1992, 30.

² Colini 1942, 52. See also Monti 1999, 30, 34.

³ Coarelli 1987, 31. See also Frova 1990, 344; Monti 1999, 42.

⁴ Monti 1999, 2004.

- 5 Monti 1999, 42-43.
- 6 Monti 1999, 43-44.
- 7 Colini 1942, 6-14, 46-52.
- 8 Colini 1942, 51-52.
- 9 Colini 1942, 50-51.
- 10 Colini 1942, 47-50.
- 11 Monti 1999, 49.
- 12 Monti 1999, 50-51.
- 13 Controversy: Briscoe 1973, 112-14.
- 14 Crawford/Keppie 1984, 29.
- 15 Lippolis 1986, 35.
- 16 Coarelli 1986, 43.
- 17 Degrassi 1986, 150.
- 18 Crawford/Keppie 1984, 24. See also Degrassi 1986, 151.
- 19 Degrassi 1986, 151. See also Coarelli 1987, 27.
- 20 Beard *et al.* 1998, 70.
- 21 Orlin 1997, 182-187. Orlin's theory is that the process of vowing, constructing and dedicating a temple was a joint effort by the Senate as a whole and the magistrates/generals. According to Orlin, denying the one who vowed the temple the subsequent dedication can be interpreted as a sign that the Senate is strengthening its position in this matter, reacting to a threatening shift in influence in favour of the magistrates.
- 22 However, the question that remains to be answered is if this specific phase of the temple of Veiovis already possessed a transverse *cella*. Built around the middle of the 2nd century BC, the later phase has to be placed in a different political climate, with the religious authority of the Senate steadily declining.
- 23 Monti 1999, 49.
- 24 The question of the chthonicity of Asklepan cult is discussed briefly in Brucia 1990, 70-72.
- 25 The possible chthonic elements of the Aesculapian cult can be traced back to the myths surrounding the early history of the Greek god-hero Asklepios, by most versions in the ancient sources struck down by the lightning of Zeus because his ability to raise the dead was unfitting for a mortal. However, even if the origin of Asklepios might have had chthonic aspects, later symbolised most strongly by the serpent associated with the god, the widespread success throughout the Greek world of the god is in the capacity as an Olympian, and we have no evidence to suggest that his Romanised form, Aesculapius, was any different in this respect.
- 26 Coarelli 1987, 29. Coarelli firmly states that at this point in time Roman mediation on the political plain at least is inevitable and that the question of direct or mediated contact is a false problem. However, it is possible that in the adoption of cults the problem of mediation does play a role.
- 27 Coarelli 1987, 29. Coarelli suggests that the sanctuary of Asklepios on Kos could have served as a direct model for the Fregellan building complex.
- 28 Monti 1999, 19.
- 29 Monti's reasoning rather gives the impression, intentional or not, that the proposed connection between the temples of Veiovis in Rome and of Aesculapius at Fregellae forms a secondary part of his argument to push back the dating of the temple at Fregellae to the first quarter of the 2nd century BC.
- 30 The slab has been dated to the first half of the 2nd century AD.
- 31 For this fragment see Conticello de' Spagnolis 1984.
- 32 Conticello de' Spagnolis 1984, 49.
- 33 Dion. Hal. 6.13.4
- 34 Nista 1994, 93.
- 35 Nista 1994, 9.
- 36 Given the strong axuality normally encountered in building complexes of this period, this seems strange. Even if the predecessor of the Republican temple already stood in this place (which could be argued), it would be questionable that the layout of the monumental Republican sanctuary would not have been altered to centre around it.
- 37 Recent excavations at the site of the sanctuary of Diana Nemorensis have demonstrated the presence of extensive structures in *opus caementicium* on the second, higher terrace, although as of yet no remains have been unearthed which can be identified as a temple building. The excavation of the higher terrace is mentioned in Ghini 1993, 1995 and 2006.
- 38 Guldager Bilde 1997, 166.
- 39 Guldager Bilde 1997, 190.
- 40 Spineto 2000, 21.
- 41 La Rocca 1999, 280-281. See also Haselberger 2002, 188.
- 42 La Rocca 1999, 281.
- 43 Dio Cass. 53.27.3. Cassius Dio is of the opinion that the name was not derived from the decoration of the building with statues of many gods, among which Mars and Venus, but from its dome, resembling the heavens.
- 44 Dio Cass. 53.27.3-4, 54.1.1. With the new archaeological evidence in mind, it is unclear to what parts of the structure the mentioned locations actually refer. Interestingly, Cassius Dio never once calls the Pantheon a temple in these passages, nor does he specifically mention the word 'cella' when he describes the location of the statue of Caesar.
- 45 Caputo *et al.* 1996, 88.
- 46 Verg., *Aen.* 6.14-34.
- 47 Caputo *et al.* 1996, 86.
- 48 Caputo *et al.* 1996, 86.
- 49 This fact is already mentioned by Gasparri in his monograph on the *Aedes Concordiae* (Gasparri 1979, 69-72). After the demolition of the modern street in front of the temple in 1983, systematic explorations of the foundation have brought to light various phases preceding the Tiberian temple and have allowed us to ascertain the ground plan of the temple built by Lucius Opimius. See also Ferroni 1993, 319-320.
- 50 Ferroni 1993, 317-318.
- 51 Colini 1942, Fig. 35.5. See also Monti 1999, 35.
- 52 *Brescia romana* 1979, 48.
- 53 The connection to imperial or state cult, for example in the cases of the temple of Concordia Augusta and the temple of Apollo at Cumae, should prove the absence of possible negative associations.
- 54 The mere fact that there are only seven known examples within the entire body of Roman temple architecture attests to this.
- 55 Vitruvius *De arch.* 1.7.1-2.
- 56 Such regulations, if they existed or had existed at some point in time, would undoubtedly have been recorded somewhere in the archives of one of the priest colleges of Rome.
- 57 Square *cellae*: the so-called temple of Jupiter Anxur at Terracina and the so-called temple of Zeus Meilichios in Pompeii. Centralized buildings: the temple of Hercules Victor located on the Forum Boarium, the temple of Vesta on the Forum Romanum, one of the two temples on the acropolis of Tivoli and the temple of Fortuna Primigenia in the goddess' sanctuary at Praeneste.
- 58 The temple of Veiovis on the Capitol Hill, the sanctu-

ary of Fregellae, and the temple of Apollo on the acropolis of Cumae.

- ⁵⁹ As has been mentioned above, the addition of the hexastyle *pronaos* on the southeast site makes this the *de facto* entrance to the *cella* and thus replaces the old main entrance to the *cella*, presumably located on the short, southwest side of the temple. This also means that the southeast is now the main façade of the temple instead of the southwest side.
- ⁶⁰ Note, for example, circular temples and temples in a purely 'Greek', peripteral style. Although not part of the main argument, the Pantheon is also a prime example of 'innovative' design of the late Republic and early Principate.
- ⁶¹ One needs only look at the sanctuary of Fortuna Primigenia in Praeneste, an untraditional and inventive piece of architecture if ever there was one.
- ⁶² For instance, the principle of frontality, and, admittedly, the adoption in most cases of a traditional rectangular, longitudinally developed *cella*.

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Monumental Entrances of Roman Ostia

Architecture with Public Associations and Spatial Meaning

Hanna Stöger

Abstract

*The monumental doorways of buildings in Roman Ostia offer a wealth of insight into the city's urban dynamics. Assessed diachronically Ostia's entrances provide a vibrant picture of a changing urban landscape. The focus is on their meaning and how these entrances reflect strategic considerations and individual choices. An array of influential factors relating to status and ownership, security, religious protection and negotiations between private entrance and public space will be investigated. Spatial factors with emphasis on location, security, distancing and visibility will be assessed to establish their degree of explanatory potential. The decisive factors that appear to have influenced choices and considerations are combined in ways unique to each particular entrance.**

The built environment of Roman Ostia has been the subject of increasing scholarly attention. The extent of the excavations, with perhaps one third of the town uncovered, and the richness of the material record make Ostia one of the key sites for the study of Roman architecture and urbanism. Within the excavated area numerous buildings are still extant to a considerable height, a substantial number of them are characterised by one or more monumental entrances. In spite of their prominence, Ostia's monumental entrances have attracted only limited attention resulting in selective treatments of specific buildings and their entrances.¹

Rickman's assessment of granaries and storage buildings provides thorough descriptions of the entrances to Ostia's *horrea*.² Packer discusses decorative aspects of particular entrances leading to Ostia's *insulae*.³ DeLaine investigates a distinct group of entrances to identify individual human actions and choices. Based on shared construction details DeLaine detects the 'signature motif' of an individual architect or contractor operating over several decades at Ostia.⁴ Apart from these specific studies a detailed, systematic assessment of these monumental entrances has been lacking.

Hence the aims of this essay are twofold: first to present the results of a survey in which the monumental entrances visible at Ostia have been recorded and documented (*fig. 1*),⁵ and second to explore the significance of these entrances within the configuration of Ostia's urban space. Furthermore the study has served as a starting point for a larger project investigating Ostia's built environ-

ment, partly applying the analytical possibilities inherent in the *Space Syntax* method for spatial analysis.⁶

Entrances are interfaces between the outside and inside of buildings and as such there are two ways in which they can be considered. This study is foremost concerned with the ways in which these entrances are related to buildings from the outside. Thus the analysis focuses on the communication between the entrances and Ostia's street network and explores this mutual relationship. The survey is restricted to certain types of buildings; it excludes temples, large civic buildings, the generously proportioned imperial baths, and the theatre and guild houses. These buildings were, by their very nature, monumental in their conception.

The emphasis is on buildings where those responsible for their construction were faced with a choice and the presence of one or more monumental entrances is a reflection of a deliberate decision. Monumental entrances are defined as those entrances that are articulated or emphasised by means of pilasters, columns, pediments or other architectural means. The survey includes buildings from across the whole Imperial Period to present a diachronic picture of Ostia's urban development.⁷

Initially, the monumental entrances identified in the study will be introduced, and their place within the overall picture of Ostia's urban development will be outlined.⁸ Following this, stylistic considerations will be discussed. Finally an interpretation of the significance of the entrances will



Fig. 1. Map of Ostia indicating the location of monumental doorways. Town plan with late Trajanic/Hadrianic constructions (after DeLaine 1996, 180, fig. 10).



Fig. 2. Horrea, III ii 6, with monumental entrance, located on the *Cardo degli Aurighi* (photo author).

be offered, derived from the survey data and an assessment of the spatial distribution and integration of the entrances within Ostia's urban texture.

DOORWAYS AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT

Although the city existed for some 13 centuries, the material remains are predominantly those of the 2nd century AD, with some 3rd and 4th century AD buildings of note and pockets of construction going back to the walls of the so-called *castrum* of the early 4th century BC.⁹ The early monumental

entrances cannot be traced. The private buildings with atrium and peristyle dated to the Republic and Early Empire are now buried under the later imperial city. The entrances of the few remaining atrium style houses of Ostia are not sufficiently preserved to allow conclusions to be drawn. The remains point to entrance arrangements with *fauces*-like corridors leading to the atrium, similar to the houses of Pompeii.

Trajanic Period (AD 98-117)

The earliest examples of monumental entrances encountered in this survey are dated to the period of Trajan (AD 98-117).¹⁰ These entrances characterise two storage buildings, *Horrea*, III ii 6 (fig. 2), located on the *Cardo degli Aurighi*, and the *Horrea dei Mensores*, I xix 4 situated on the *Via della Foce*. During this period an expansion in the number of *horrea* took place, particularly to the west of the centre of the city, connected to the new harbour constructed under the reign of Trajan, the *Portus Traiani*.¹¹ The volume of goods that could be handled increased, and correspondingly so did the importance and prosperity of Ostia.

The *Terme di Buticoso*, I xiv 8 and its portico along the *Via Epagathiana* were also built under Trajan. A monumental doorway marks the entrance connecting the portico and the baths. Between the *Via della Foce* and the river, westwards from the *Via Epagathiana*, the brickwork is predominantly dated to Trajan's principate. Further west, beyond the *Serapeum*, large *horrea*, which are not yet excavated, were constructed. Brick-stamps dating to the Trajanic period were also found in buildings near the *Tor Boacciana*, marking the western limit of Ostia's built up area.¹²

Hadrianic period (AD 117-138)

This survey includes twelve buildings featuring 'monumental entrances' from the early 2nd century AD. During this period construction techniques at Ostia, as elsewhere, reached a level of precision not reached before or equalled afterwards.¹³ Among the many building activities was the development of the area between the *forum* and the river, bounded on the east by the *Via dei Molini* and on the west by the *Via Epagathiana*. The area west of the *cardo maximus* was developed into an area of markets, warehouses and storage facilities. Along the *Via dei Misuratori del Grano*, all Hadrianic buildings feature monumental entrances. Significantly, the entrances to the *Piccolo Mercato*, I viii 1, and *Horrea*, I viii 2 face north towards the river, which

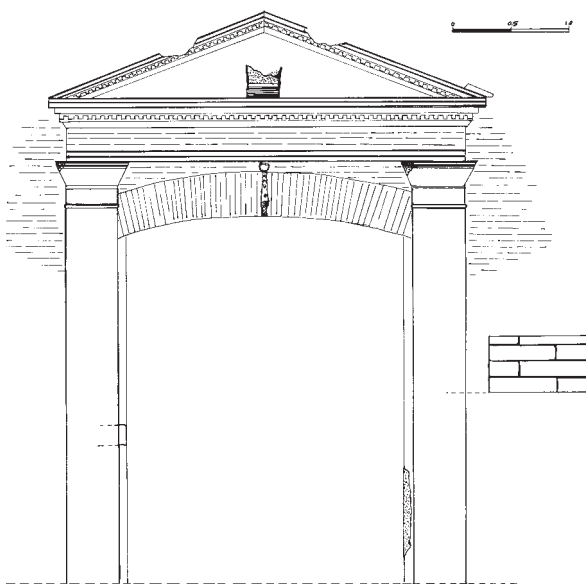


Fig. 3. Caseggiato Misuratori del Grano, I vii 1-2, entrance facing south (drawing author).



Fig. 4. Case a Giardino, III ix 1-22, main entrance opening to the Via delle Volte Dipinte (photo author).



Fig. 5. Insula delle Volte Dipinte, III v 1, a freestanding building with a pediment above the main entrance (photo author).

was the centre of activity for goods being unloaded and dispatched. The position and orientation of the *horrea* reflect that fact.¹⁴ The *Caseggiato Misuratori del Grano*, I vii 1,2 (fig. 3) on the other hand, was entered from the south. However, the building is only partly excavated, and the river has washed away large parts of its structures; an additional entrance facing north cannot be excluded. Under Hadrian's principate the rebuilding of the district north of the Via della Foce and westwards from the Via Epagathiana was continued. The *Caseggiato* I xiv 9 with its double entrance framed by regularly walled pilasters, forms part of the development along the Via Epagathiana and is also structurally connected to the sanctuary of Hercules. South of the *Cardo degli Aurighi* the single largest residential development, the *Casa a Giardino*, III ix 1-22, catered for the upper end of the housing market, offering spacious apartments surrounded by gardens. Monumental entrances, placed strategically at cardinal points, screened the area off from the traffic and noise of the city (fig. 4). Located east of the *Casa a Giardino*, the *Insula delle Volte Dipinte*, III v 1 (fig. 5) represents a freestanding building, probably a guesthouse. A walled pediment above the lintel crowns the central doorway. The *Insula delle Volte Dipinte*, III v 1 was built before the grand *Casa a Giardino*. The latter appears to respect the boundary lines of the earlier structure. In the centre of the town further development took place. The *Caseggiato del Larario*, I ix 3, a market-like commercial building with monumental entrances opening to the *decumanus* and the Via del Larario, forms part of the development programme in the *forum* area. The *Caseggiato dei Dipinti*, I iv 2-4 is also part of these re-building activities. Pilasters and pediments embellish the building's entrances along the Via dei Dipinti. Near the Porta Laurentina a large triangular area was dedicated to the cult of Cybele/Magna Mater. The sanctuary was entered from the *cardo maximus*. A monumental gateway, IV i 9 flanked by shops on both sides marks the opening to the sanctuary. On the south side of the eastern *decumanus*, east of the *Semita dei Cippi*, the *Domus del Pozzo*, V iii 3, (fig. 6), as well as the adjacent *Insula* V iii 4, are part of the development of this area during the period of Hadrian. Both structures are characterised by impressive monumental entrances. The *Caserma dei Vigili*, II v 1, the barracks of the fire fighters, were built in a single uninterrupted campaign during the closing years of the reign of Hadrian.¹⁵ The imposing entrance arrangements underline the building's monumental structure. The barracks were part of the rebuilding of a large

area north of the *decumanus*, and east of the theatre including *horrea*, taverns, apartments and the splendid *Terme di Nettuno*, II iv 2.



Fig. 6. Domus del Pozzo V iii 3, engaged columns flanking the central doorway (photo author).

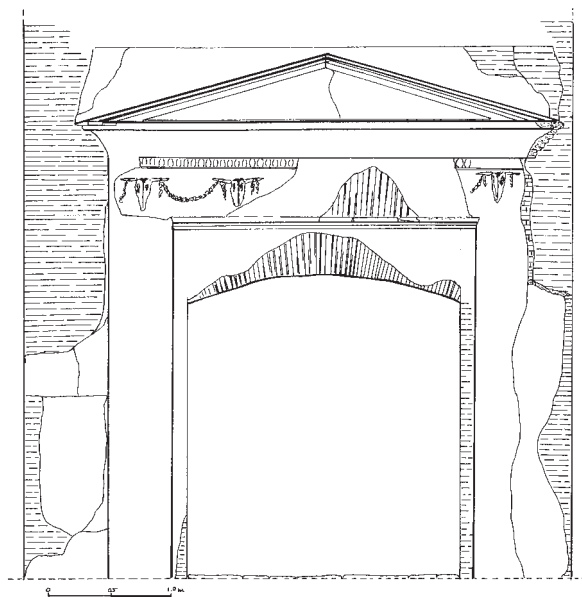


Fig. 7. Caseggiato del Serapide, III x 3, gateway placed at the point of intersection between two buildings (drawing author).

By the end of Hadrian's principate Ostia had developed into a booming commercial centre.¹⁶ The amenities had been improved by the increase in the number of public baths as well as the increasing emphasis on the side of the town closer to the seashore. While deliberate planning and imperial policy may have been responsible for impressive planning projects north of the *decumanus*, and north of the forum along the river,¹⁷ private development was also very active, as can be deduced from large-scale development as the *Casa a Giardino*, III ix 1-22 and smaller-scale individual projects.¹⁸

Antonine period (AD 138-192)

The end of Hadrian's principate seems to mark the end of large-scale development; new buildings continued under Antoninus Pius, albeit on a smaller scale.¹⁹ Between the late Flavian period and the death of Antoninus Pius few new independent houses were built; development concentrated on adaptive and augmentative activities and existing houses were pulled down to be replaced by *insulae* or *caseggiati*. Still, some important building programmes were carried out under Antoninus Pius, notably the *Terme del Foro*, adding curvilinear structures to the otherwise straightforward rectilinear planning prevailing in Ostia's architecture.²⁰ For the period in question the survey includes two buildings featuring monumental entrances. One is the *Insula*, I xii 9 situated on the *cardo maximus*. It forms part of the larger *Terme del Foro* complex. The baths had a roughly triangular *palaestra* on their southern side, surrounded by a colonnade onto which *Insula*, I xii 9 was joined. Building 9 opens onto the *cardo*. Pilasters frame its central entrance, to set it apart from the shop openings on either side. The other building dating to this period with a monumental entrance is the *Horrea Epagathiana et Epaphroditiana*, I viii 3. Although the building is designated as *horrea* by the inscription on its architrave, it is not comparable with the great storehouses. An elaborate arrangement marks the main entrance. The *horrea*'s plan reflects the dominant aristocratic house-type emerging during the period of the High Empire, consisting of a central peristyle flanked on all sides by ranges of rooms.²¹ The entrance from the street is in the middle of one range, and the main reception room is located in the centre of the opposite range. Monumental architecture was deliberately employed to emphasise the building's grandeur. After the enormous building boom at the beginning of the 2nd century which saw the

construction of a large number of *horrea*, seven of which are located in the excavated area,²² only two further *horrea* dated to the Antonine period were identified: the *Horrea Epagathiana et Epaphroditiana*, I viii 3, and the large but unexcavated *Horrea Antoniniani*, II ii 7, built under Commodus. Subsequently, larger *horrea* were constructed at Portus directly, where the shipping activities for bulk commodities took place.²³ However, Ostia's *horrea* remained in use, and suggest an additional trading potential rather than a major shift of port activities to Portus.²⁴

Severan Period (AD 193-235)

Urban development during the early Severan period seems to have been mainly confined to restorations. What appears to have been an architecturally barren phase was brought to an end by the construction of the *Tempio Rotondo*, I xi 1, one of the boldest and most interesting buildings in Ostia. The survey includes eight entrances decorated with pilasters, dating to the late 2nd and early 3rd century AD.²⁵ The pedimented entrance found inside the *Caseggiato del Serapide*, III x 3 (fig. 7) is of particular interest. The large *caseggiato* was constructed during the period of Hadrian; it is joined with the *Terme dei Setti Sapienti*, III x 2. At the point of intersection between the two buildings, a shrine dedicated to Serapis was installed during the Severan period. The elaborate entrance draws attention to the shrine. During the Severan Period adaptive and augmentative development continued creating typical lines of shops with apartments situated on the upper floors.²⁶ Pilasters mark the entrance to a *caseggiato* located on the street frontage of the *Domus sul Decumanus*, III ii 3. Several of these typical *caseggiati* were built along the *cardo maximus* towards the Porta Laurentina. The entrance to the *Caseggiato* I xiii 5 is framed by pilasters, to distinguish it from other entrances. The *Caseggiato* V i 1 adjacent to the Porta Laurentina, is characterised by a wide entrance arrangement framed by pilasters. The entrance faces the gate to the sanctuary of Cybele/Magna Mater located on the opposite side. Tucked away in a quiet street, south of the *cardo*, the *Caupona del Pavone*, IV ii 6 served as guesthouse or hotel; narrow pilasters frame its central entrance.

4th Century AD

Ostia's urban development of the late 3rd and 4th centuries appears to be more concerned with amenity than with the needs of trade.²⁷ Public



Fig. 8. Domus del Protiro, V ii 4-5, entrance with porch supported by marble columns (photo author).

baths were kept in repair and their number even increased. Space was less precious within the city in the late Empire. In domestic architecture the emphasis shifts back to the independent house. These late houses are widely distributed. There is great variation with regard to the style and layout of the Late Roman *domus*. The common factor between them is the lavish use of marble in the interior decoration.

The survey includes five buildings with monumental entrance arrangements dating to the 4th century. The *Domus del Protiro*, V ii 4-5 (fig. 8) and the *Domus Fortuna Annonaria*, V ii 8 display impressive porches supported by marble columns. The *Domus Fulminata*, III vii 3-4 engages two marble columns framing the entrance. The entrance to the *Caseggiato di Bacco e Arianna*, III xvii 5 is characterised by piers flanking the entrance. The walled porch of the *Domus di Via Caupona* IV iii 4 projects into the street, taking away public space. The other houses of the Late Empire are not included in this survey since their entrance arrangements are not emphasised by monumental structures.²⁸

Within the broad lines of Ostia's urban formation the buildings featuring monumental entrances fit well into the overall picture of the city's development between the Early and the Late Empire. In conclusion, this diachronic survey seems to have returned to its point of departure - the indepen-

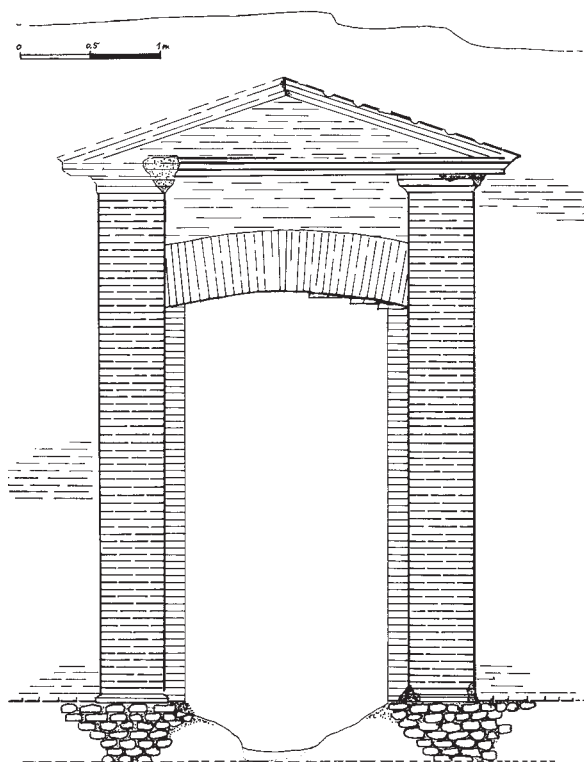


Fig. 9. Caseggiato dei Dipinti, I iv 2-4, doorways are flanked by pilasters (drawing author).



Fig. 10. Horrea Epagathiana et Epaphroditiana, I viii 3, entrance is flanked by engaged half-columns (photo author).

dent house of the local aristocracy - again characterised by a monumental entrance. For some three generations the *insula* became the dominant house type of Ostia; it did not, however, survive long beyond the period of Ostia's prosperity. The decline of the *insula* / *medianum* apartment and the renewed emphasis on the *domus* - seems to demonstrate that the lower middle-class that made up the social fabric of Ostia's commerce oriented society, lost out in the course of events.

THE CHRONOLOGY OF OSTIA'S BUILDINGS - SOME CONSIDERATIONS

The history of Ostia's urban development during the Empire depends largely on the dating of brickwork. For the high imperial phase in the town's development brick stamps make it possible to establish remarkably precise construction dates for most of the buildings and supply a firm chronological framework.²⁹ The stamping of consular dates on brick stamps begins toward the end of Trajan's principate. For periods from the time of Antoninus Pius onwards the use of brick stamps becomes less common.³⁰ Whilst this approach provides firm dates it also creates a very rigid chronology that stresses conformity at the expense of diversity. Against this framework Ostia appears to have been stagnant at some point in the 2nd century AD. While brick stamps tend to provide a reliable date for the initial construction; later interventions using different often re-claimed materials create problems.³¹ An over-reliance on brick stamps seems to lead to a consideration of buildings as static entities and takes no account of their dynamic nature over time. However, recent studies have broken this pattern. Some of Ostia's structures were in use for 700 years and changes that occurred over time are attracting attention.³²

The chronology offered for the monumental entrances of this survey is mainly based on the dates established in the SO I.³³ For those cases where the survey data would suggest different dates amendments have been made accordingly.³⁴

STYLISTIC OBSERVATIONS

Packer's work on the *Insulae of Imperial Ostia* discusses various stylistic aspects of the external decoration of Ostia's building.³⁵ He distinguishes three categories of entrance arrangements. The most common type is executed in low relief, with pilasters and pediments not protruding more than 20-30 cm. The pedimented entrances of the *Caseggiato dei Dipinti*, I iv 2-4 (fig. 9) well exemplify this

type of doorways. Less common are entrances flanked by engaged half-columns which carry pediments that form semi-independent architectural members. The best example is the entrance of the *Horrea Epagathiana et Epaphroditiana*, I viii 3 (fig. 10). In a third type of Ostian doorway the columns flanking the entrance are freestanding, supporting a three dimensional pediment. The best-preserved entrance is found in front of the *Domus del Protiro*, V ii 4-5. Packer's categories and observations are confirmed by this survey.

The earliest use of walled columns encountered was in the entrance to *Horrea*, III ii 6 dated to the Trajanic period (AD 98-117). Columns are also present between the portico and *Terme di Buticoso*, I xiv 8 constructed around AD 112-115, walled columns are also seen in the entrances of three buildings from the Hadrianic period. These are the *Domus del Pozzo*, V iii 3 (AD 117-138), *Horrea*, I viii 2 (AD 119-120) and the main entrance of the *Casa a Giardino*, III ix 1-22. Entrance arrangements featuring columns do not appear to have been an architectural language that was reserved for a particular type of building but could be employed equally in public, commercial and domestic architecture.

The first evidence for the use of moulded pilaster bases in bricks (of a different colour to the bricks used for the pilasters) placed on top of a plinth of travertine comes from the Trajanic period. The earliest example of this technique is seen at the *Horrea dei Mensores*, I xix 4 (AD 112-115). During this and later periods this technique appears to have remained uncommon. Only one further example of moulded pilaster bases was found at the *Casggiato del Larario*, I ix 3 (AD 117-120) (fig. 11). By the Severan period the use of moulded bricks atop travertine bases in pilasters appears to have become slightly more frequent. Two examples of this technique have been traced at the entrance to the *Domus del Tempio Rotondo*, I xi 2-3 (AD 210-235) and the *Casggiato* I xiii 5 on the *cardo maximus*.

The outstanding quality of brickwork in the pilasters framing the entrance of the *Piccolo Mercato*, I vii 1 (AD 119-120) is striking. The bricks seem to have been selected for their uniformity of colour and fabric. Equal care has been taken in rendering the pilasters framing the entrance to the *Caserma dei Vigili*, II v 1 (AD 132-137). Shallow mortar beds add to the uniform finish. The pilasters are laid separately from the main wall and five courses of bricks on the pilaster are generally equal to four on the wall proper. The prevailing width of pilasters in the Hadrianic period is c. 44-45 cm, complying with the Roman *sesquipedales*.³⁶



Fig. 11. *Casggiato del Larario*, I ix 3, provides a fine example of a moulded pilaster base (photo author).

Marble, as expected, only comes into use in the Late Empire. It is seen in the entrances of the *Domus del Protiro*, V vii 4-5, the *Domus della Fortuna Annonaria*, V ii 8 and the *Domus Fulminata*, III vii 3-4,³⁷ all dated to between the 3rd and 4th centuries AD.

MONUMENTAL ENTRANCES AND THEIR MEANING

The doorway was a significant feature of the Roman streetscape. It marked the meeting point of space and the built environment, and the interface between the public and private spheres.³⁸ The doorway had an important role in describing the owner's or the resident's status, as is the case with Ostia's apartment houses and building complexes. Ancient written sources refer to a number of characteristics of doorways.³⁹ The doorway's role was also linked on a religious level with the god Janus, associated with the beginning of events. Allusions to the meaning of doors are found in Ovid's *Fasti* and Cicero's *De Natura Deorum*.⁴⁰

Architectural Features with Public Association

The architectural devices employed to articulate and embellish entrances are columns, pilasters and pediments; as such these elements deliberately evoked a public setting.⁴¹ A pediment may also be referred to as a *fastigium*, which could be the gabled

end of a room or a dwelling; it may also signify the triangular portico attached to the front of a building or placed above the doorway. The *fastigium* was characteristic of public buildings, particularly the temple, the palace, and the basilica. The Roman Senate decreed Caesar the privilege of erecting an external *fastigium* to his house. His house was joined to the *regia*, a structural link that seemed to have accounted for the extraordinary distinction of a 'fastigated façade'.⁴²

The column is another architectural feature with public associations. Its frequent occurrence in Roman architecture seems to have reduced it to a structural device. However, it was the hallmark of Greek public and sacred architecture. Wallace-Hadrill reminds us that for Pliny the Elder the column was still a sign of Roman extravagance and links it to the appropriateness of marble columns in public buildings.⁴³ Although Pliny refers here to the material, the comparison between public and private buildings becomes clear.

The public associations of the individual architectural elements are to be kept in mind; ancient sources and above all, architectural evidence, bear witness to the importance of doors and entrances. Doors and doorways are symbolic and physical thresholds in life. They mark transitional zones between private and public, profane and sacred. At the same time doors have a very pragmatic and utilitarian function. They provide security and protection from people and nature. Doors and entrances do not have a single function; their significance and meaning has many interrelated aspects.

SIGNIFICANCE - OR: WHAT JUSTIFIED A MONUMENTAL ENTRANCE?

Without doubt the most important question concerns the meaning of monumental entrances. The entrances encountered in this survey can in no way reflect the actual number of articulated entrances,⁴⁴ yet it is still interesting to note that only a small fraction of Ostia's buildings have monumental entrances (fig. 12). Out of Ostia's 22 *domus* and 228 *insulae* and *caseggiati*⁴⁵ only a few entrances to these buildings can be considered 'monumental'. Whilst the relatively low number might be expected, it is nonetheless necessary to identify the reasons that would account for this phenomenon. The use of monumental entrances may have been affected by many factors including location, visibility, function, dependence and status. Different factors may have contributed to dif-



Fig. 12. Insula del Soffitto Dipinto, II vi 5-6, an insula without monumental entrance arrangements (photo author).

ferent degrees towards bringing about this phenomenon. The presence of monumental entrances cannot be explained by considering only a single factor. This paper addresses each factor in turn in order to draw conclusions about their relative importance.

Utility and Security

The survey includes *horrea* and storage buildings that are all characterised by monumental entrances, and have columns or pilasters framing their doorways. However, it is evident that the door openings are comparatively narrow. In the case of *Horrea*, I viii 2, columns have been placed on the threshold inside the entrance, narrowing the opening space even more. The main entrance to the *Piccolo Mercato*, I viii 1, although it is almost five metres wide, is to a certain extent obstructed by its portico, making direct access impossible. Rickman has pointed to the 'economy of entrance'



Fig. 13. Pacifying passage between the western decumanus maximus and the Via delle Volte Dipinte (photo author).

as a striking feature of all plans of *horrea*.⁴⁶ The majority of these large storage buildings have just one central entrance, and usually only a small additional postern door. The need for small and easily barred entrances would be of primary importance in buildings used for storage purposes. Special locking devices are preserved in *Horrea Epagathiana*, I viii 3 and *Horrea*, III ii 6. The thresholds required for the locking devices as well as their comparatively narrow entrances make it unlikely that there was ever free circulation of carts and the unloading of merchandise under shelter was surely an impossibility. The most common method of transport was the human porter. The *saccarius* is much more adaptable than a vehicle or pack animal. All the goods must have been taken into and out of these buildings by manpower.⁴⁷ Wheeled vehicles probably played a minor role in the handling of goods; and were certainly of no concern to the architects of the *horrea*. The development of the area designated for *horrea*, towards the river and northwest of the *forum* during the period of Hadrian, points to deliberate planning. The monumental entrances seem to comply well with a development programme following an imperial policy, which was not only concerned with functional requirements but was also intended to convey the grandeur of the empire in architectural terms. On the other hand even smaller, private *horrea* made use of the architectural devices of columns and pediment to evoke public associations.

Security and Distancing

Built around 128 AD, the *Casa a Giardino*, III ix 1-22 are one of the most remarkable examples of Roman urban design. The architect appears to have appreciated today's problems of apartment living.⁴⁸ The presence of fountains and a garden

demonstrates a concern for much needed open space. At the same time the architectural design provided 'defended space'. By surrounding the central apartments with a frame of outer buildings, the inner space would have been secure and private. The eastern entrance, clearly distinguished by columns as the main entrance, is reached from the square at the end of the Via delle Volte Dipinte. Another monumental entrance provided access from the *Cardo degli Aurighi*. A further gate opened from the southern wing leading towards the *Terme Marittime*.⁴⁹ All entrances placed strategically at cardinal points, ensured that the area was secured and screened off from the traffic and noise of the city. Two lodges flank the main entrance. Their presence in itself is an indication of a consideration of security needs. Considering the relative proximity of the western *decumanus*, one of the city's major thoroughfares, the architect's foremost concern appears to have been to pacify the area. This preoccupation seems to have continued into later periods. An indication of this can be seen in the passage linking the Via delle Volte Dipinte with the *decumanus*. This passage appears to have been designed to control access from the *decumanus*. Pilasters placed on both sides of the passage are also evidence of the conscious desire to isolate the area from its immediate surroundings (fig. 13). At a later stage when the area became a prestigious residential area, as can be seen from the presence here of the impressive *Domus dei Dioscuri* III ix 1, this concern for the peacefulness of the neighbourhood remained.

Religious Protection

Some of the entrances encountered provide an axial link to a niche placed in the background of the building's inner courtyard. This axial entrance arrangement directs attention towards the room opposite the entrance. A link between entrances and niches may also be inferred from stylistic similarities between the architecture of the niche and the style of the entrance arrangement. This axial relationship was stressed in the *Horrea Epagathiana et Epaphroditiana*, I viii 3, in the *Horrea*, III ii 6, and in the *Caserma dei Vigili*, II v 1 where the fire fighters were faced by a shrine for the imperial cult upon entering the barracks. Other shrines have a prominent location, notably the niche in the *Casggiato del Larario*, I ix 3 and most significantly the cult room of Serapis installed in the *Casggiato del Serapide*, III x 3. In most cases these niches can be interpreted as shrines dedicated to protective deities. Where present, they served to

make visitors coming from the outside aware of the religious protection of the building and its occupants at the moment of transition from the street to the interior. The *Domus della Fortuna Annonaria*, V ii 8,⁵⁰ is an example of this phenomenon, dating from late antiquity. In the case of the entrance arrangement found here this concept is taken further. A niche placed in axial alignment at the back of the courtyard is visible from the entrance. A porch supported by marble columns was added to the house in the 4th century AD. The porch was placed outside the entrance, it projects c. 90 cm from the walls so that it covers the entire width of the pavement. By placing the entrance arrangement outside of the house, the architect or owner extended the visual axis. The columns and the door posts provided a series of symmetrical framing elements creating a much longer visual axis than the actual layout of the house afforded.⁵¹ The niche in the background thus becomes the focal point, drawing attention towards the statue.

Private Entrance and Public Space

The entrance arrangement of the *Domus della Fortuna Annonaria*, V ii 8 (fig. 14) also relates to the definition of the boundary lines of the house. These have to be understood within the broader context of changes in the street layout of Ostia in late antiquity. The *domus* is situated where the *Semita dei Cippi* and the *Via della Fortuna Annonaria* meet.⁵² During Ostia's period of prosperity, the *Semita dei Cippi* was a major thoroughfare, extending from the *Via dei Molini* southwards to meet the *cardo* and continuing as the access road leading to *Laurentina*. In late antiquity the picture changed drastically. The construction of an *exedra* along the *decumanus* completely blocked off the *Semita dei Cippi* and isolated the area from the centre (fig. 15). It can be assumed that the area then was of a purely residential nature and was not much frequented by people other than the local residents. Pavement space was probably of no concern to the public and could be easily claimed to extend the owners' private property.⁵³ This survey includes several *domus* dating to the Late Empire with similar entrance arrangements, all of them appropriating considerable road and pavement space. A notable example is the *Domus di Via Caupona*, IV iii 4 which has an entrance arrangement that projects 160 cm out into the street, significantly reducing the width of the road. The *Domus del Protiro*, V ii 8, located on the *Semita dei Cippi*, also displays a prominent porch, supported



Fig. 14. *Domus della Fortuna Annonaria*, V ii 8, with projecting entrance arrangement taking away public space (photo author).

by marble columns. It is a later addition to the house, placed in AD 320. The porch projects c. 90 cm from the entrance. The porch's *tympanum* survived in fragments. An inscription, dated to the early 5th century, only partially preserved, was found on one of the marble slabs composing the *tympanum*. It probably refers to the name of the last owner. In this way the monumental entrance was an overt statement of ownership and did much to signify the status of the house's owner.

Location and Visibility

A good example of the relationship that often exists between house location, the status of the owner and the use of monumental entrances is seen in the *Insula di Giove e Ganimede*, I iv 2, part of *Casggiato dei Dipinti*, I iv 2-4. Located on the *Via dei Dipinti* at the eastern end of the *Via del Capitolium*, the building's main entrance is aligned with this road. The entrance to the house is placed in a way that ensures maximum visibility through-

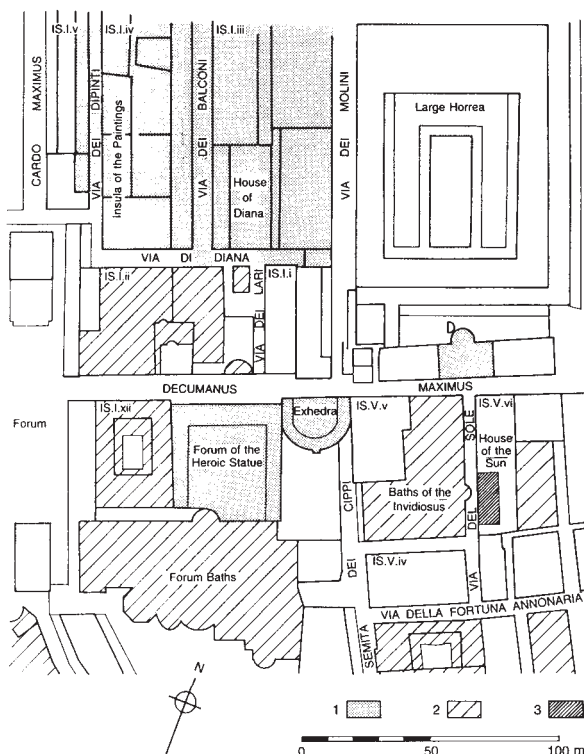


Fig. 15. Area east of the forum in the 4th century with exhedra blocking access to the Semita dei Cippi (after DeLaine 1995, 98, fig. 5.10).

out the entire length of the Via del Capitolium. The construction of the existing structure has been dated to the late Hadrianic period, by which time the area of the *capitolium* and its road network had already been developed.⁵⁴ Maximising visibility therefore seems to have been a consideration when placing this entrance (fig. 16, 17). The same seems to have been true for the monumental entrances of several other buildings, most notably *Horrea Epagathiana et Epaphroditiana*, I viii 3 and *Horrea*, III ii 6. A direct alignment exists between the monumental entrance of *Horrea Epagathiana* and a passageway that leads from the Via Epagathiana to the Via del Tempio di Ercole (fig. 18). SO I provides a date for the building of the Terme di Buticoso together with its portico of 112 AD. In any case, the entrance to the *horrea* has clearly been positioned so that it is directly opposite the passageway even though this required the corridor beyond the entrance to be skewed off a direct alignment with the rest of the rooms within. In the case of *Horrea*, III ii 6 the monumental entrance is clearly visible along the length of the Via delle Volte Dipinte opposite but the extent to which this was deliberately achieved is more dif-



Fig. 16. Caseggiato dei Dipinti, I iv 2-4, as seen from the Via del Capitolium, maximising visibility a decisive factor for entrance arrangement (photo author).



Fig. 17. Section of site plan SO I, Via del Capitolium, visibility of entrance.



Fig. 18. *Horrea Epagathiana et Epaphroditiana*, I viii 3, direct alignment between the monumental doorway of the *Horrea Epagathiana* and a passageway to the Via del Tempio Dell'Ercole (photo author).

ficult to say. The *horrea* are dated between 98 and 117 AD and therefore predate the buildings that define the course of this road. It cannot be established if a road was already in place in the same position prior to the building of the *horrea* or whether the entrance was positioned to be aligned with such a road. It can not be ruled out either that the course of the road may in part have been determined by considerations of visibility with regard to the entrance to the *horrea*.

Certain buildings and specific monumental entrances may have been deliberately designed to provide relief against a background of architectural monotony and to act as focal points to guide people around the city.⁵⁵ Further investigation of issues concerning the visibility of monumental entrances surely offers explanatory power to better understand this phenomenon.⁵⁶

Status and Ownership

Returning to the *Caseggiato dei Dipinti*, I iv 2-4, the main monumental entrance was clearly integrated into an architectural scheme designed to carefully control the 'entrance experience'. The rooms beyond the entrance were laid out in such a way as to maintain this control in terms of their accessibility and at which point they allowed visibility of the garden. The owner was playing 'elite games', just as the owners of the Pompeian *domus* seem to have been doing.⁵⁷ The building has several other entrances onto the Via dei Dipinti, three of which can be considered as monumental. Each of them allows visibility of the garden beyond, which seems to have been one of the few privately owned gardens in the centre of Ostia. All things considered, the owner of this house must have been an important individual, with a house in a prime location, who made use of monumental entrances in the construction of this house to emphasise his high status.

The *Case a Giardino's* northern entrance opening to the *Cardo degli Aurighi* is embellished with a decorative terracotta relief that resembles part of a motif above the entrance to the *Caseggiato dei Misuratori del Grano*, I vii 1,2. (fig. 19, 20). The latter has been interpreted as depicting a measuring rod.⁵⁸ However, the terracotta relief above the entrance to the *Case a Giardino* stands alone whereas the one at the other building is accompanied by a design that has been interpreted as depicting a corn *modius*. These motifs are displayed in very prominent central positions and it is tempting to think that they represent the use of entrance decoration to signify ownership. In the case of the *Case*

a Giardino the terracotta relief may also symbolize the club of Hercules and therefore might suggest a protective connotation. The real significance of these motifs and whether or not others have been found in a similar context has yet to be established but is certainly an area worthy of investigation.⁵⁹

Urban Memory

Another very tempting though highly conjectural exercise is to explore Ostia's monumental entrances in terms of their role within the reproduction of images of urban continuity. The majority of monumental entrances were constructed in the first half of the 2nd century AD. Ostia was then at the height of its prosperity. During that period the city had undergone major reconstructions. Radical transformations took place and the destruction of the traditional material environment of the city could have easily led to a fragmentation of unity of place. It is interesting to note that during this crucial phase the city placed a marble inscription to commemorate the foundation as the first Roman colony by *Ancus Marcius*, fourth king of Rome.⁶⁰ While this is an overt statement of creating a link with the past through tradition there are other less deliberate processes at play that are central to the production of memory. Images of continuity are produced through physical form. This happens not only as a visual experience of continuity of form but also through the act of renewing buildings and environment in ways as to emphasise a comfortable sense of making similar choices.⁶¹ In what way did Ostia reproduce images of continuity? Despite Ostia's large-scale urban redevelopment the city retained the original street network, the topography of its sanctuaries and the parcel size of the original land-division to a remarkable degree.⁶² One of the old roads from Rome, probably predating the so-called *castrum* is still preserved in the oblique lines showing in Region I iii 6; iv 5; xix; and xx.⁶³ A concentration of monumental entrances is found along the Via dei Misuratori del Grano, which represents a section of this earlier road. Its pre-existence is indicated by its diagonal course that oddly delineates and compromises the later rectilinear large-scale development of this area and *horrea* along this road are all embellished with monumental entrances. Various factors that might explain why these buildings have been invested with monumental entrances have been discussed above. The particular location connected to this traditional road may have added an extra factor that might have encouraged the need to reproduce urban



Fig. 19. Case a Giardino, III ix 1-22, northern entrance with terracotta relief (photo author).



Fig. 20. Caseggiato dei Misuratori del Grano, I vii 1,2, with terracotta relief depicting a measuring rod (photo author).

memory. The architectural language chosen, the pediments and columns clearly evoke public associations.

For any individual case the decision about whether or not to give a building one or more monumental entrances must have been made based upon a number of considerations, such as those that have been discussed here. In any individual case the physical locality of the building, the desires and resources of those responsible for

its construction and historical circumstance would have shaped these considerations. The wide range of factors that must have informed any decision about the creation of monumental entrances would therefore have been combined in ways that were unique to each particular case. However, we have seen how it is possible to determine which factors were likely to play a part in this process and how it is possible to work out the relative importance of these various factors in individual cases.

It is equally possible to discuss obvious reasons why certain other buildings were not invested with monumental entrances. One of the most common reasons why buildings lacked articulated entrances seems to be that porticoes surrounded them. In Ostia there are at least 29 *insulae* that were surrounded by porticoes.⁶⁴ In such cases, the porticoes were an integral part of the building and essential to the building's function and offered little opportunity for the monumentalisation of particular entrances.

CONCLUSION

It can be seen that the development of monumental entrances on buildings at Ostia fits well into the overall picture of Ostia's urban development. Tracing their development diachronically therefore helps to recreate a picture of a dynamic city and moves away from the temptation, brought about in the past by an over-reliance on brick stamp chronology, to view the city as frozen at a single point in time.

It is also clear that the architectural techniques used in creating these monumental entrances changed over time. Increasing architectural sophistication can be identified, beginning with the Early Imperial programme and continuing until the end of the period. Structural considerations changed and issues of decoration became more important. There was more concern for which materials to use and how best to use them in order to create a pleasing effect. These developments in the way in which monumental entrances were designed and constructed cannot be seen as being restricted to one type of building.

The study demonstrated that various reasons were influential, to varying degrees, in inspiring those responsible to embellish their buildings with one or more monumental entrances. The analysis has yet to fully answer the questions posed but as already stated, it provides the starting point for a more in depth assessment of Ostia's built environment using Space Syntax tools for urban analysis.

APPENDIX 1 - LIST OF BUILDINGS WITH MONUMENTAL ENTRANCES

1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
1	I	iv	2-4	Caseggiato dei Dipinti	16	III	v	1	Insula delle Volte dipinte
2	I	vii	1-2	Caseggiato dei Misuratori del Grano	17	III	vii	3-4	Domus Fulminata
3	I	viii	1	Piccolo Mercato	18	III	ix	1-22	Case a Giardino
4	I	viii	2	Horrea	19	III	x	3	Caseggiato del Serapide
5	I	viii	3	Horrea Epagathiana et Epaphroditiana	20	III	xvi	1	Caseggiato on Via di Annio
6	I	ix	3	Caseggiato del Larario	21	III	xvii	5	Caseggiato di Bacco e Arianna
7	I	xi	2-3	Domus del Tempio Rotondo	22	IV	i	9	Entrance to Campo della Magna Mater
8	I	xii	9	Insula on Cardo Maximus	23	IV	ii	6	Caupona del Pavone
9	I	xiii	5	Caseggiato on Cardo Maximus	24	IV	iii	4	Domus di Via della Caupona
10	I	xiv	8	Terme di Buticoso e Portico	25	V	i	1	Caseggiato on Porta Laurentia
11	I	xiv	9	Caseggiato on Via Epagathiana	26	V	ii	4-5	Domus del Protiro
12	I	xix	4	Horrea dei Mensores	27	V	ii	8	Domus della Fortuna Annonaria
13	II	v	1	Caserma dei Vigili	28	V	ii	13	Insula del Pozzo
14	III	ii	3	Caseggiato/Domus sul Decumano	29	V	iii	3	Domus del Pozzo or Casa della Cantina
15	III	ii	6	Horrea	30	V	iii	4	Insula (part of V iii)

¹ number on plan, ² region, ³ *insula*, ⁴ building and ⁵ name according to plans of SO I 1953

APPENDIX 2 - CHRONOLOGY OF MONUMENTAL ENTRANCES (BASED ON SO I 1953)

AD 98-117 Trajanic Period

98-117	III ii 6	Horrea	Cardo di Aurighi	1953,235
98-117?	III xvi 1	Caseggiato ⁶⁵	Via di Annio	1953,235
112-115	I xix 4	Horrea dei Mensores	Via della Foce	1953,235
112	I xiv 8	Terme di Buticoso e Portico ⁶⁶	Via Epagathiana	1953,218

AD 117-138 Hadrianic Period

117-120	I ix 3	Caseggiato Larario ⁶⁷	Decumanus	1953,235
119-120	I vii 1,2	C. Misuratori del Grano ⁶⁸	V. dei Misuratori del Grano	1953,235
119-120	I viii 1	Piccolo Mercato ⁶⁹	V. dei Misuratori del Grano	1953,235
119-120	I viii 2	Horrea	V. dei Misuratori del Grano	1953,235
117-138	I xiv 9	C. Via Epagathiana	Via Epagathiana	1953,235
117-138	IV I 9	Camp. Magna Mater ⁷⁰	Cardo maximus	1953,236
117-138	V iii 3	Domus del Pozzo ⁷¹	V. d. C. d. Pozzo	1953,236
117-138	V iii 4	Insula	V. d. C. d. Pozzo	1953,236
125-128	III v 1	Insula Volte Dipinte	Via d. Volte Dip.	1953,235
128	III ix 1-22	Case a Giardino ⁷²	Cardo d. Aurighi	1953,236
128-138	I iv 2-4	Caseggiato dei Dipinti	Via dei Dipinti	1953,235
132-137	II v 1	Caserma dei Vigili ⁷³	Via dei Vigili	1953,236

AD 138-161 Antonine Period

145-150	I viii 3	Horrea Epagathiana	Via Epagathiana	1953,237
160	I xii 9	Insula	Cardo Maximus	1953,237

AD 193-235 Severan Period

209?	III x 3	Caseggiato del Serapide ⁷⁴	Via della Foce	1953,237
210-235?	I xi 2-3	Domus del Tempio Rotondo	Via d. T. Rotondo	1953,237
210-235	I xiii 5	Caseggiato	Cardo Maximus	1953,237
210-235	III ii 3	Caseggiato	Decumanus	1953,237
210-235	IV ii 6	Caupona del Pavone	Via d. Caupona	1953,237
210-235	V i 1	Caseggiato	Cardo Max. & Semita dei Cippi	1953,237
210-235	V ii 13	Insula del Pozzo	Via d. C. d. Pozzo	1953,237

4th Century AD

300-	III vii 3-4	Domus Fulminata ⁷⁵	Decumanus	1953,233
300-	III xvii 5	C. di Bacco e Arianna ⁷⁶	Via del Serapide	1953,235
300-	IV iii 4	Domus di Via Caupona	Via Caupona	
320-	V ii 4-5	Domus del Protiro ⁷⁷	Semita dei Cippi	1953,234
300-	V ii 8	Domus Fortuna Annonaria	Via della Fortuna Annonaria	1953,238

NOTES

- * I am indebted to Anna Galina Zevi, Soprintendente di Ostia, for her kind permission to study the standing remains and to access archival material, and to Jane Sheperd and her staff in the Ostia archives. I am also grateful to L.B. van der Meer who suggested Ostia's doorways as a research topic for my MA at the University of Leiden.
- ¹ Pompeii's doorways have been analysed in terms of their spatial meaning related to street activity (Laurence 1994), and their symbolic and spiritual significance (Mac Mahon 2003).
 - ² Rickman 1971.
 - ³ Packer 1971, 35-40.
 - ⁴ DeLaine 2002, 44-48.
 - ⁵ All monumental entrances were recorded by means of a short description, located on the site plan, photographed and, if applicable, measured and drawn to scale. All the data referring to each specific feature were entered in a separate 'Data Capture Sheet'. The total of the collected data sheets make up the final catalogue. The underlying purpose was that each specific 'site-report' is able to stand-alone. This system allows for further data sheets to be added as required, as well as other data fields to be inserted at a later stage, provisions made for future use within a GIS-based spatial analysis of Ostia. The buildings recorded include *horrea* or storage facilities, housing complexes and individual houses and the so-called *caseggiati* (buildings often with a combined residential and commercial function).
 - ⁶ The term space syntax refers to a set of theories and techniques for the analysis of spatial configuration; see Hillier/Hanson 1984.
 - ⁷ See appendix 1 for List of Buildings with Monumental Entrances.
 - ⁸ See appendix 2 for a chronological sequence of Ostia's monumental entrances.
 - ⁹ DeLaine 1995, 79.
 - ¹⁰ See appendix 2.
 - ¹¹ Most probably the port was inaugurated in AD 113, the year before Trajan's military operations in the east (Pavolini 1983, 278).
 - ¹² Boyle 1968, 24.
 - ¹³ Boyle 1968, 26.
 - ¹⁴ Rickman 1971, 76.
 - ¹⁵ Boyle 1968, 79.
 - ¹⁶ Heinzelmann 2002.
 - ¹⁷ Hadrian's personal interest in Ostia may be inferred from the records of the *Fasti* for AD 126. This year shows that Hadrian held the title of *duovir*, chief magistrate of the colony, for the second time. Meiggs (1973, 75) claims that to hold this title for a second year seems to confirm Hadrian's concern for Ostia.
 - ¹⁸ DeLaine 2002.
 - ¹⁹ Meiggs 1973, 144.
 - ²⁰ Meiggs 1973, 144.
 - ²¹ Ellis 2000, 41.
 - ²² *Horrea* constructed under the period of Hadrian: I vii 2, I viii 1, I viii 2, I xiii 1, I xx 1, III xvii 1, IV viii 5; cf. Heinzelmann 2002, 104, plate IV.2; Heinzelmann's site plan indicates all *horrea* identified in Ostia including those structures which were identified by the DAI geophysical survey carried out in the unexcavated areas of Ostia.
 - ²³ Hermansen 1982, 9.
 - ²⁴ Heinzelmann 2002, 112-115.
 - ²⁵ The so-called 'Imperial Palace' has not been included in this survey. The building's southern entrance, constructed during the Severan Period, is framed by pilasters. These indicate monumental entrance arrangements. The 'Palazzo' is located in the western part of the ancient city on the banks of the Tiber (Regio III). Its location placed the 'Palazzo' outside the range of excavations. In recent years new investigations have revived interest in the 'Palazzo' (Spurza 2000, 127).
 - ²⁶ The front of *Domus del Tempio Rotondo*, I xi 2 seems to have been reconstructed during the Severan period (SO I 1953, 237). Heres (1982, 378-385) provides a later date, AD 290-300, based on the walling technique in *opus latericium* composed of mixed and reused red and yellow brick. The construction and reconstruction dates for the *Domus del Tempio Rotondo*, I xi 2 are still debated. Recent excavations might shed new light on the history of construction of this building.
 - ²⁷ Meiggs 1973, 146.
 - ²⁸ The well-known *Domus dei Dioscuri*, III ix 1, is not included, but should be mentioned for its distinctive curvilinear entrance arrangement. See Becatti 1949 for Ostia's Late Roman *domus*.
 - ²⁹ The chronology of Ostia's architectural development is primarily based on Bloch's study of brick stamps (see SO I 1953); for a critical assessment see DeLaine 2002.
 - ³⁰ Meiggs 1973, 535-545.
 - ³¹ The structures dating to the Late Empire provide a special set of problems since a considerable amount of bricks and tufa was reclaimed and reused in new structures. Heres (1982) conducted a thorough survey of a representative amount of buildings to suggest a chronology for masonry structures of Ostia and Rome from 235 to 600 AD. Heres argues in favour of a diachronic approach taking all structural changes over time into consideration.
 - ³² DeLaine 1995; 1996; 2000, see also Boersma 1985.
 - ³³ SO I 1953.
 - ³⁴ See appendix 2.
 - ³⁵ Packer 1971, 35-40.
 - ³⁶ The Roman *sesquipedales* refers to one and a half Roman feet.
 - ³⁷ cf. Van der Meer *et al.* 2005.
 - ³⁸ Laurence 1994, 89.
 - ³⁹ Ovid *Fasti* 1.250; Pliny *NH* 32.44; 28.86; Catull. 67; Apul. *Met.* 9.5; Petron. 28-29; Lucr. *De Rerum Natura* 4.269
 - ⁴⁰ Ovid *Fasti* 1.125-130, 135-144; Cicero *De Natura Deorum* 2.67.
 - ⁴¹ Wallace-Hadrill 1994, 19, 220, see also Hales 2003, 104-105.
 - ⁴² Wallace-Hadrill 1994, 19.
 - ⁴³ Pliny *NH* 17.1.6.
 - ⁴⁴ When Ostia was abandoned its ruins were used as quarries and marble and stones were removed. Presumably more houses had porches supported by marble columns.
 - ⁴⁵ These figures were produced by Hermansen (1982, 10).
 - ⁴⁶ Rickman 1971, 79; see also DeLaine's investigations into Ostia's commercial landscape (2005).
 - ⁴⁷ Landels 1978, 171.
 - ⁴⁸ Ellis 2000, 74-75. See also Stevens 2005.
 - ⁴⁹ The western part of the *Casa a Giardino*, III ix 1-22 is not fully excavated.
 - ⁵⁰ Bakker 1994, 187.
 - ⁵¹ Cf. Clarke 1991, 4-6.
 - ⁵² The Via della Fortuna Annonaria seems to be a continuation of the outer *pomerium* street south of the *castrum* (Meiggs 1973, 122).

- ⁵³ It would be interesting to see whether these property extensions had any legal implications and if so who would have defended public interests.
- ⁵⁴ According to DeLaine (1995, 82) the excavations carried out in the 1960s identified earlier structures dated to the 1st century BC.
- ⁵⁵ See Kockel 1992, 115-116 on Ostia's porticoes and their uniform character lacking architectural punctuation. See also Lynch's concept of 'place legibility' (1960).
- ⁵⁶ Kaiser 2000, 57.
- ⁵⁷ DeLaine's study shows that the architecture of the house allowed a complex structuring of social relationships within its apparently disorganised and certainly non-Pompeian arrangement. The lack of atrium and central axis reflect a different way of displaying the house. The *Insula di Giove e Ganimede* is not an isolated example. Parallel use of space can be seen in other Ostian *domus*, like the house of the Muses (DeLaine 2000, 184).
- ⁵⁸ Bakker 1994, 57; see also Rickman 1971, 72.
- ⁵⁹ Cf. DeLaine 2005.
- ⁶⁰ Meiggs 1973, 16, note 1; S 4338: *a[nco] | mar[cio] | reg[i] | quart[o a r[omul[o] qui a[b urbe c] ondit[a | pri]mum colon[iam | —] dedux[it]*.
- ⁶¹ Rowlands 2004, 480.
- ⁶² Mar 1991.
- ⁶³ Hermansen 1982, 3, fig. 1.
- ⁶⁴ See Hermansen 1982, 220-223 on the importance of porticoes for the purpose of fire protection.
- ⁶⁵ The entrance arrangement seems to be a later alteration; no secure dates can be provided.
- ⁶⁶ According to Bloch (SO I 1953, 218) the baths and the portico were built during the period of Trajan around AD 112.
- ⁶⁷ Dated AD 115-116, see DeLaine 2002.
- ⁶⁸ Dated AD 117-118, see DeLaine 2002.
- ⁶⁹ Dated AD 117-118, see DeLaine 2002.
- ⁷⁰ Construction in *opus mixtum*.
- ⁷¹ Construction in *opus mixtum*, later alterations about AD 250; change into *domus* of the Late Empire. The entrance is part of the original construction.
- ⁷² Construction in *opus latericium*.
- ⁷³ Construction in *opus latericium*.
- ⁷⁴ *Casggiato del Serapide* c. AD 128, built during the period of Hadrian. The pedimented entrance was constructed during the Severan Period, together with a shrine dedicated to Serapis. See S.T.A.M. Mols in volume 1, p. 229 and fig. 2.
- ⁷⁵ The peristyle house dates to the Flavian period; later alterations took place. The entrance arrangement seems to be dated to the Late Empire (4th century AD) cf. Van der Meer 2005.
- ⁷⁶ The *Casggiato di Baccho e Arianna*, III xvii 5, built during the period of Hadrian, remained in connection with the adjacent Serapeum. Alterations during the 4th century AD blocked the former connection to the Serapeum. The monumental entrance is part of these later changes.
- ⁷⁷ The *Domus del Protiro* dates back to the Claudian period, several subsequent interventions took place. The monumental entrance was built in the early 4th century AD.
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Four New Campana Dinos, a New Painter, Old Questions

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Abstract

Four new Campana dinos have come to light: three in the U.S.A. and a fragmentary one in Amsterdam. The publication of one, the dinos in the collection Shelby White in New York, is forthcoming. The other three are published here. We also study a fifth dinos in the U.S.A. and one in Würzburg. It appears that three, rather than two, painters were active in the workshop; this third artisan, whom we call the Hoof Painter, painted the dinos in Würzburg and Amsterdam. We analyse the style of these painters and of related ware, especially of the Northampton amphorae. Finds show that the Northampton amphorae were not made in Etruria, as we formerly assumed, but somewhere in East Greece. The same holds, we believe, for the Campana dinos, but new evidence, and especially clay analysis is needed to decide this matter for good.¹

The group of the Campana dinos² owes its name to the original owner of many of its pieces, Giovanni Pietro Campana (director of the deposito bank *Monte di Pietà* since 1832, bankrupt in 1858, imprisoned and then exiled in 1859). We know of the existence of 22 of these dinos (or fragments of dinos: see the Lists at the end of this paper). The group contains also other vases: two hydriae and one or, possibly, two amphorae, perhaps a stand and an askos (see below List D). They are dated 540-520, some have been found in the same tomb as certain Caeretan hydriae,³ all have, to all likelihood, been found in Etruria. There is a close but uncertain relation with the group of the so-called Northampton amphorae (List E). Opinions vary as regards the original home of these dinos and hydriae and their painters (see below).

So far, it has been generally assumed that there were two artisans who painted the dinos, the 'Eight Painter', formerly indicated as the Painter of Louvre E 736 (below, List A)⁴ and the so-called Ribbon Painter (Cook/Hemelrijk 1963, by others indicated as the Painter of Louvre E 737 and 739; below, List C). The name of the Eight Painter derives from the 8-shaped ears of his men and boys (e.g., *figs. 10-16*),⁵ the Ribbon Painter is called after his favourite ornament, the ribbon (*figs. 22-27*, graphically described by R.M. Cook as 'a zigzag string of sausages').⁶ However, a third painter has now been added: a number of fragments in Amsterdam, to be published in the next CVA of the Allard Pierson Museum but also described here (*figs. 59-61*, List B2), were painted, as Elisabeth den Boer in 1986 recognized, by a third painter, who is also responsible for the dinos in Würzburg

(*figs. 48-54*, List B1). This dinos was first attributed to the Eight Painter (Hölscher 1975) and twenty years later to the Ribbon Painter (Gaultier 1995, 23). Den Boer calls her new artisan the Hoof Painter because he is inclined, as an afterthought, to incise hooves through the feet of his satyrs (*fig. 61b*). His style is not far from that of the Eight Painter, but several characteristics of that painter are, as we shall see, consistently lacking.

We shall first look at three dinos by the Eight Painter and then at two by the Ribbon Painter.

These five vases are all in the U.S.A., two of them are unpublished, while the publication of another is forthcoming.

THE EIGHT PAINTER

1. An unpublished fragmentary dinos by the Eight Painter in the Metropolitan Museum of Art (figs. 1-8; List A7)⁷

Description

New York, Metr. Mus.1971.259 abc (the fragments b and c are now incorporated in the reconstruction); gift of Dietrich von Bothmer.

Preservation:

About half the dinos preserved, rebuilt from numerous, large fragments, one 'floating' (*fig. 3*, to right).

Surface well-preserved.

Shape: not distinct from the other Campana dinos, finely rounded and with a marked curve at the shoulder.⁸

Measurements: as reconstructed: Ht. 21.7 cm;

Diam. 30.3 cm; Diam. mouth with rim 20.5 cm; without rim 15.5 cm; Ht. of frieze of satyrs 9.6 cm⁹ and, together with the ivy wreath (above) and the lotus frieze (below), 20 cm.

Clay: fine, with no grits nor micaceous particles. The colour is light dull orange, somewhat glossier in the surface wash.

Surface: dilute wash; black varying from lighter brown to darker black; a patch under two satyrs (nos 2 and 3) has misfired.¹⁰

Inside: solid black below, but streaky black under the shoulder.

Ornaments

Rim: radial wriggles (*fig. 8*), dubbed 'pipe-cleaners' by von Bothmer. Outer edge of lip once painted thinned black. Three friezes (one on the shoulder and two on the body) between double borderlines (light brown) of varying width; the borderlines under the lotus-bud frieze are farther apart than the others (*fig. 7*).

Shoulder: stiff ivy wreath (*figs. 1-3, 8, 45Ba*) with leaves with very long, sharp tips; the central branch and twigs are in thinned paint and straight.

Lower belly (*figs. 3, 7, 45A type 6*): lotus-bud frieze touching both borders (five and a half flowers preserved). Buds red (or reddish/brown); red not entirely painted directly on clay, the lower part applied on some very thinned underpaint.¹¹ Outer leaves of lotuses nearly touching each other at the tops of the buds. The central petals are diamond-shaped with a long tip, they are separated from the outer leaves by reservation ('floating' between them, as it were). Flowers and buds are slenderer than on most other dinoi (*fig. 45A type 6*); they rest on thick knobs and are interconnected by slackly-pendant double curves.¹² On other dinoi there usually is a frieze of thin, long spikes above the black bottom, but this is lacking here.

Base: painted 'black'; decorated with four sets of three red lines, one around the centre, the second some way up, three cm below the third set, which is two cm below the upper circle.

The figures (*figs. 1-6*)

Remains of nine satyrs rhythmically dancing to left, beating the ground with force (only small parts preserved of nos 1, 5, 8 and 9).¹³ They have human feet; wild beards and long tails with very sharp locks. Originally there may have been 13 satyrs (possibly 14).¹⁴

All lift their right leg to hit the ground, only the badly preserved no 5 (*fig. 2*) is coming down on

his left foot after a jump, his right foot still suspended in the air behind the left leg. There is little overlapping but for nos 5 and 6 (right half of *fig. 2* and left end of *fig. 3*; the tail of no 5 crosses the shin of no 6); perhaps it is here that the painter started and finished painting the frieze.¹⁵

Shoulders are frontal, arms are wildly thrown about, some straight backwards (no 3, *figs. 1-2*, and probably no 8 (right end of *fig. 3*), of whom only the right foot, left shin and left hand with lower arm are preserved); other arms are bent at the elbows. The left elbow is often lifted high (nos 1-2, 5-7; *figs. 1-2*). As is the habit of the painter, there are curious double, curved incisions in calves and thighs (*figs. 1-6*). There are numerous coloured (red or white) curves and lines scattered over body and limbs,¹⁶ apparently meant as some sort of anatomical markings,¹⁷ but very inadequate and now hardly visible (see *figs. 4-5*, nos 2-3; clearly shown on the old drawing of the dinos List A5, *fig. 5a*).

The style of the Eight Painter is unmistakable but, unfortunately, also clumsy. The painter had no knowledge of the structure of bones and muscles: especially awkward are his hands and arms (e.g. *figs. 4-5*).

The contours of his figures are always incised. Typical are the long, solid red hair with notched ends (on the shoulder), the short straight incisions for forehead bangs (*figs. 5-6*), ears pricking upwards, tiny snub satyr-noses (uplifted), the typical East Greek eye¹⁸ with eyebrow sharply marked, the double stripes for mouths, and the sharply pointed locks in the beards (each lock separately drawn)¹⁹ and in the tails. The bellies are marked with folds by tiny incised curves. Often there are short, double or triple incisions inside the bend of the elbows and in armpits (e.g. *figs. 2 and 6*, nos 4 and 7). Note also the tiny curves marking some knees (nos 2-6, *figs. 4-7*) and ankles (nos 6-8, *fig. 3*). But the most striking characteristic of the figures of this painter is that the genitals are consistently drawn right through (or on) the upper part of the thighs on the near side (*passim*).

In spite of this clumsiness, the figures form a pleasant pattern against the light background.

One wonders why these happy brutes are jumping so joyfully and rhythmically around the vase: one would like to believe that they are dancing on the rhythm of a flute player now lost (flute players are not rare on the dinoi), but this remains uncertain.²⁰

The following dinos was published in 1928 but has been known since 1899.²¹ Yet, it deserves a brief discussion.

2. *Dinos by the Eight Painter in Boston* (figs. 9-17; List A1)

Inv. No 13205: diam. 28 cm, diam rim 20 cm

Fairbanks describes its clay as light brown-red 'with fine particles of black and white stone and of mica'. The surface has a thin wash with the same colour but a little darker.

Its floral decoration is as usual, but the leaves of its ivy branch on the rim are described as alternately black and red.²² On the shoulder there are chevrons between double frieze lines (figs. 9-10, 45Bd) and under the figure scene there are black lotuses and red buds without twigs or interconnecting tendrils, floating above the ground line (fig. 17, 45A type 1).²³ Below this there are the usual very long spikes (fig. 45Bb) above a black base with two reserved lines and two red lines at its top.

Its figure scene is puzzling. In its centre (fig. 9) there is a tall mortar on a pedestal in the shape of an inverted lotus; in it a girl and a boy are pounding something with very big pestles (fig. 16), such as were still used in the mountain areas of Turkey some fifty years ago for grinding grain. No less than 12 persons are involved (figs. 9-16). A very deep bucket, two oinochoai and a large net bag or string basket (apparently empty) with tall handles are, it seems, needed for what is going on (fig. 10). The oinochoai may be meant to quench the thirst of the two hard working young persons. The big pestles (fig. 16) are surely used for crushing some solid material, perhaps olives or nuts rather than grain, but the happy dancing, the music of the two flute players and the presence of a cauldron on a bronze tripod (figs 12-15) suggest some ritual.

To the left of the mortar (figs. 9, 14, 16) a girl with long hair in a girt peplos handles a large pestle (we count her as no 12); behind her a youth (no 11) plays the double hobo; both are turned to right, all other figures are turned to left. On the other side of the mortar a nude youth (no 1) is also pounding the contents of the mortar; he does so with curiously stiff outstretched hands (fig. 10).

No 2 carries a jug with a very high handle and a large net-bag; no 3 holds a big metal bucket aloft in his right hand and another oinochoe in his left; then (fig. 11) follows no 4 who, sporting very long hair, plays the double hobo with eerie, spidery fingers (like no 11, fig. 16). Nos 5-10 (figs. 11-14) are dancing, no 5 (fig. 11) somewhat clumsily, but nos 6 and 7 (fig. 12), 9 and 10 (figs. 13-14) rhythmically and moving quickly (landing on their left foot, their right leg lifted); only no 8 is bending forward, his head under the arm of no 7 (figs. 12-13).²⁴ The tripod between 10 and 11 (figs.

14-15) is of a type very common on the dinoi and also on the Northampton amphorae (fig. 77).

All details are characteristic of our painter. In the first place the eight-shaped ears after which the painter was named (figs. 12, 16) and, secondly, the way in which the scrotum is painted right through (or on the wrong side of) the outline of the thigh of the near leg (e.g. figs. 10, 12).²⁵ The style of dancing is very like that of the fragmentary dinos of figs. 1-8, but clumsier. Some are worse than others; remarkably awkward are the arms of nos 1 and 4, 11 and 12 and the hands of the flute players nos 4 and 11 (figs. 11, 16).

It seems likely that this dinoi, after the amphora in Berlin (List A9, fig. 47), which is from Egypt), is the earliest work of our painter: note the remarkably bad shoulders and sharp V-shaped lines under the necks; the arms are unusually primitive. Everything is stiffer and less lively than on the other dinoi by the Eight Painter. Also, the lotus frieze is the most primitive of the whole series (fig. 45A type 1, also seen on the fragments in the Villa Giulia Museum, List A4).

The third dinoi we have to look at is in the splendid collection of Shelby White in New York. Its publication is forthcoming and we may therefore be short about it.

3. *Dinos on stand by the Eight Painter in the Collection Shelby White in New York* (figs. 18-19; List A8)

This splendid bowl still rests on its stand. Its publication shall appear in the forthcoming *Essays in memory of Leon Levy*, planned for 2006.²⁶ It is unique in the oeuvre of our painter for it is decorated with five young men riding on big horses who, under the leadership of a mounted officer with a beard, are charging to left. The horses are big animals. We are already familiar with their manes and tails (which are like the tails of satyrs) and also with the faces and anatomy of the horsemen (eight-shaped ears etc.) and with the ornaments (ivy wreath, tongue pattern, fig. 45Bc type 1, lotus-buds, fig. 45A type 4, and spikes).

The shape of the stand is like that of the other Campana stands known at present, those in Vienna (fig. 20; List A6) and in Rome (fig. 21, List C8). All three are far simpler than their Attic forerunners, the well-known dinoi stands by the Gorgon Painter and by Sophilos, which are sharply profiled, elegantly shaped and decorated all over with figures.²⁷ Ours is 29 cm high and closest to the one in the Musei Capitolini (fig. 21). The stand in Vienna is slightly simpler and more slender and elegant.

The stand in New York (*fig. 18*) has the form of a sturdy column on a wide foot, with two disks supporting a rounded pommel, above which there is a smaller flat disc supporting a widely spreading, saucer-shaped top. It is painted solid black with red lines at intervals. The close similarity with the other two specimens (*figs. 20-21*) shows that, in this workshop, stands were produced routinely, just as the bowls.

So far for our discussion of the Eight Painter. Let us now turn to the Ribbon Painter and look at two more dinoi in the U.S.A.

THE RIBBON PAINTER

The Ribbon painter is a far more accomplished artist than the Eight Painter: he has produced remarkably fine pots, especially the two hydriae List C11-12 (*figs. 35-41*). The dinos now to be described was on loan, a decade ago or so, in the J. Paul Getty Museum, but its present whereabouts is unknown to me.

1. An unpublished dinos by the Ribbon Painter in a private collection in the U.S.A. (figs. 22-28; List C9)

Description

On loan in the J. Paul Getty Museum in 1994 (when I studied the vase), registered as L94.AA.11.19. The authorities of the museum gave permission to publish the photographs.

Preservation and technique: unbroken, well preserved, well potted, small dint in the bottom. In the kiln the dinos appears to have been stacked, somewhat slantingly, on a vessel, probably on its stand (rather than on another dinos): this appears from an impressed circle on its bottom, diam. ca 15.5-16 cm. Nice, glossy, dark orange surface (like the surface of the Ricci and Bonn hydriae, List C11 and 12).²⁸ Black paint dark and glossy but thinnish in places (where it has turned brownish: e.g. on head and shoulders of the foremost hunter on side B, *fig. 25*). The red of the hair of the figures is well-preserved. *Shape:* not distinct from the other Campana dinoi, the flat rim slanting inwards, as always, and set off from the shoulder by a pronounced moulding. *Measurements:*²⁹ diam. of rim 19.6 cm, diam. of mouth without rim 15 cm; rim 2.4 cm wide. I measured the thickness of the wall where it bends: 0.6-0.7 cm.

Inside: nice, dark black (incrusted) with a reserved area in the centre filled with a dot-in-circle (this may be unique).

Ornaments

Rim: ivy wreath, leaves dark, central branch in thin paint (brown), twigs of leaves (short and straight) white on black wash (which is unique, I think, but so my notes tell me).³⁰ Black stripe round rim.

Shoulder: between single border lines (brown): a loop pattern formed by a line bending up and down, each loop filled with a thick dot; there are small dots between the top of the loops (*fig. 45Cf*). The same pattern is seen on the lip of the two hydriae, List C11 and 12 (*figs. 37, 35*) and on the Northampton amphora List E3, *fig. 75* (where there are small white dots on the big black dots).³¹

Lower belly: three friezes between single border-lines. Above, a ribbon-pattern,³² then lotus-buds, and, below, another ribbon pattern (*figs. 22, 45Cg*). The lotus-bud ornament (*fig. 45A8*) is typical of the Ribbon Painter: buds and flowers rest on the base line without any supporting twigs; buds are broad and heart-shaped with a reserved split through the middle and the flowers have two separate, widely splaying sepals (calyx leaves), a diamond-shaped central petal and, flanking it, two short lines.³³

Below these there are no spikes but a reserved line, flanked by a red line above and one below. *Bottom:* black with two (concentric) red lines (diam. 8.5 cm) and a small reserved spot in the centre with a dot (coloured?) in a black circle.

The figures

A (figs. 22, 23, 26, 28)

Huge boar to left, attacked from the left by five nude boys with javelins. The boar is deep black but the black on its legs is thinnish. *Red:* neck, inside of off-hind leg and anus; short red strokes between rib incisions and along the two curved incision on the rump. *White:* tusk (worn), belly stripe and stripe along shoulder incision.

The beast is menacing with its sharp tusk, its head lowered and pawing the ground with its right foreleg. Its eye is small and glares viciously, its tail with a sharply incised hair tuft is tightly curled. The great crest on its back has the indentation or notch that is typical of East Greek boars.³⁴ There are no contour incisions except for the hoof and the frontal outline of the left foreleg.³⁵

The five boys, all with short, red hair and in exactly the same attitude, are pointing their thin javelins downwards, almost as if pricking the buttocks of their comrades in front!³⁶ The javelins seem too thin to serve as thrusting weapons, but they cer-

tainly use them as such, and the foremost hunter must actually have thrust it into the beast (see side B). Note the neat rendering of the spearheads.

B (figs. 24, 25, 27)

The same scene is repeated on B, but the painter has spilled clay-paint over the snout and forelegs of the boar and the ribbon frieze below (fig. 27).³⁷ Through the blob the wrinkles in its snout and the white tusk are visible. The beast is wounded in its neck on the off side: seven thick drops fall to the ground.³⁸ Two sharp incisions under the eye in its cheek, and the raised, curved eyebrow (together with a tiny line near the ear) give expression to the fury and pain of the beast: its eye has a startled, even furious, expression; it is wide-open, round in front, the iris a full circle (compare the eye in fig. 71 and contrast the narrow eye of fig. 26). In other respects the two boars are the same (except for small incisions in the elbow of B and in the hind leg of A). On *B* the white belly strip is well preserved but the hind legs have turned brown. Note that both boars lack the usual large scrotum.

There is very little variation in the ten boys: their wide-legged stance, leaning far forward, the toes of both feet on the ground, produces the effect of a fast attack; their javelins overlap with the loop-frieze above, all have red, short hair, with tiny scratches for the locks on the forehead and the nape of the neck; the small ears are typical; note the narrow eyes with eyebrows, the turned up noses with comma-shaped nostrils, the incidental contour incisions of the profile (also on other dinos, see fig. 33); mark the ample, curved incisions denoting the deltoids and breast muscles, with the tiny roundels for the nipples (which, I believe, may originally have been painted white),³⁹ the short incisions marking the outline of the bellies (which are straight, in contrast with those on figs. 4-6), the narrow waists and protruding buttocks, the typical genitals with a tiny scrotum, well-shaped penises and fine indication of the foreskin, the curve of some of the hipbones (*iliac crests*), the knee caps that are lightly marked with two small up-curving incisions or a loop (compare the more angular shape used in figs. 29-32, List C10 and C3); further, the heel-less, rather weakly shaped feet and the curious shape of the left hands that are outstretched and lifted in profile. Most characteristic of the painter is the almost total lack of contour incision (except the hoof of the left front leg of the boar on A and, as we have seen, the profiles of the youths); further, the fact that the painter prefers to turn his figures to right, so much so that in this case he directed all his

hunters to right and therefore had to introduce two boars in stead of one (both to left). One might perhaps have preferred the centripetal scheme of most hunts of the great boar.⁴⁰

Finally we must have a brief look at the fifth dinos in the U.S.A.

2. *A dinos in Malibu by the Ribbon Painter* (figs. 29-30; List C10)

J. Paul Getty Museum 83.AE.249, published by R. de Puma in *CVA J. Paul Getty Museum* 9 (U.S.A. 34, 2000) no 23, pls. 498.3; 499-500.

To this publication⁴¹ a few words may be added. There are 14 dancers. One of the youths is ducking down, holding his knees stiff together, apparently trying to avoid the arms of his wildly dancing neighbour who seems to hit him inadvertently on the shoulder without noticing him (fig. 29). As De Puma remarks, this is probably the spot where the painter ended his row of figures and found that he had left too little room for the young man.⁴² We may therefore start counting the figures (from left to right) with the youth to his right who leaps forward while looking round.

The vase is recomposed from large fragments and a number of smaller ones; it is nearly complete but badly damaged in places, especially dancer no 4 (not illustrated) and the sirens under dancers nos 10-11 (fig. 30). The same number of dancing youths is found on its closest parallel List C1, Louvre E737 (on the other close parallel, List C3, Florence no 3784, there are only ten, figs. 31-32).

It is noteworthy that, though the painter usually directs his figures (not his sirens and sphinxes) to right,⁴³ here the figures nos 2, 4, 6, 9, 12 and 14 are facing left. All the youths are jumping and running, kicking up their feet under their buttocks or lifting high their knees; they are not rhythmically thumping the floor as the dancers of the Eight Painter usually do (figs. 1 ff., 12-14). It seems to me that no 10 (fig. 30, second from left) is a flute player, raising his (faded) double oboe aloft; this appears from a comparison with the only figure turned to left on the Florence dinos, List C3 (near the right edge on fig. 31). A flute player is, as a rule, not in a situation to dance while playing, but the one of fig. 31 does!⁴⁴

All details of the physique of the hunting boys of figs. 22 ff. are here repeated, needing no further comment. The nine sirens are turned to left, as is usual; they are exactly like other sirens by the painter (e.g. List C4, fig. 34). Under dancer no 5 a swan acts as the 'odd man' (as Beazley dubbed the

filler whenever an ornament or, more rarely, a figure, had to be squeezed in when the painter was to complete the circle round the pot).⁴⁵

This treatment of the five dinoi in the U.S.A. may serve as an introduction to the two painters. We shall now compare them to make clear why Den Boer found it necessary to introduce a third painter, her Hoof Painter.

THE EIGHT PAINTER AND THE RIBBON PAINTER COMPARED; THEIR EAST GREEK CHARACTER

We have to warn the reader that we have made the acquaintance of only one of the two styles of the Ribbon Painter. Below we shall see that, side by side with a workaday style ('rapid hackwork' according to Cook),⁴⁶ he sometimes handled a grand style which he reserved for more pretentious vases (*figs. 35-43*).

Let us first see what the two painters have in common. Their draughtsmanship is typically East Greek. In fact, if we take List A9, the amphora from Karnak in Berlin (*fig. 47*), to be by the Eight Painter - and we do not doubt that this attribution is right - this painter firmly belongs to Cook's East Greek Urla Group, for its shape and the palmette on its neck are identical with an amphora in the British Museum.⁴⁷ No wonder that the style of the Eight Painter is purely East Greek.

But not only he, all three painters of the Campana dinoi use techniques and markings common in East Greek pottery. Significant is that, in contrast with the Northampton group, there are no incisions in the ornaments. Then there are the rows of white dots in the seams of clothes and along shoulders of animals (*figs. 18-19, 47a-b*), the oval shape of the eyes of both men and women and other such things.⁴⁸ One of the Eight Painter's characteristics is the coloured lines in torsos, arms and legs (usually hardly visible now, but see *figs. 4, 5, 5a*); the Ribbon Painter does not seem to paint them in human bodies, but he does in animals.⁴⁹ Even the double incisions for the mouth of the Eight Painter, are East Greek, though usually not visible in the publications.⁵⁰ Note that, on the dinoi, women are not painted white.⁵¹ Details are indicated with incision rather than with painting (as is the rule in East Greece), but there are a few significant exceptions (see below).

Figures

It must have struck the reader that the difference between the two painters is extreme. Their figure

styles have hardly anything in common, this in spite of the fact that the antecedents of both are to be found in the Eastern Mediterranean and that they must have worked side by side in the same workshop. On the whole the Eight Painter is an abominable draughtsman, which, however, is not unusual in East Greek vase painting, where distressful drawings are plentiful.⁵²

The Eight Painter is called after the curious shape of the ears he paints. Originally, this stylization depicted an oval ear with a disk-shaped pendant, as drawn by our painter on the Berlin amphora, List A9 (*fig. 47*). Similar masculine ears with disks forming an 8, are found on Chiot ware and elsewhere;⁵³ but the Eight Painter seems to have forgotten the origin of this strange formula.⁵⁴ A striking difference is that, as we have seen, the Eight Painter incises double curves in bodies, arms and legs of satyrs and humans (e.g. *figs. 4, 5, 47, 62*), that he uses complete contour incision and that his figures usually move to left (*figs. 1-19*). Those of the Ribbon Painter are, as a rule, turned to right (*figs. 22-28, 31, 32*)⁵⁵ and generally lack contour incision, except for profiles of youths and girls (sirens and the like; e.g., *fig. 44*).⁵⁶ In the same way, all other typical details are different. In the first place, apart from the ears, the genitals (e.g. *figs. 4-5, 16, 28*; drawn through the top of the thigh by the Eight Painter),⁵⁷ but also other anatomical markings: deltoids, hair, profiles, mouths (marked by double lines by the Eight Painter), knee caps (see below, *comment ad List D*), even so small a thing as the nostril: the Ribbon Painter loves this delicate detail (*figs. 26-28, 33*), the Eight Painter ignores it (except in youth no 8 on List B1, *fig. 12*, to right).⁵⁸

The satyrs of the Eight Painter have human feet. The only satyr on a dinos by the Ribbon Painter (a shield device on List C2, *fig. 43*) and his centaurs (List C6 and C12)⁵⁹ have horse's hooves - so too the satyr on the amphora List D5 (*fig. 72*, which is very near the Ribbon Painter, see *comment ad List D5*).

This would suffice for the figure style of the two painters, were it not for the hydriae List C11 and 12 and the dinos List C2 by the Ribbon Painter (*figs. 35-44*). So far, his style, though proficient, seemed simple, spontaneous and unpretentious, but all this is different in these 'masterpieces'. The great combat between Lapiths and centaurs on the shoulder of the Bonn hydria, List C12, involves no less than 11 hoplites (two killed) and 9 centaurs (one dead, outstretched on the ground). For its intricate composition and its admirable design this scene would be worthy of a

sizeable wall painting (see *fig. 36*, Kaineus battered into the ground by no less than four opponents).⁶⁰

The great scene of nude, youthful horsemen hunting deer with enormous antlers,⁶¹ which flee in panic to left and right, is also admirable, but unfortunately badly damaged.⁶² Both scenes are full of intricate overlappings suggesting depth and tumultuous clashes.

The sacrifice on the shoulder of the Ricci hydria (List C11)⁶³ is the most complete rendering of this kind in Archaic vase painting, but it is paratactic in a traditional way and shows the usual simple naivety of the painter. The scenes on the belly of this hydria (the apotheosis of Heracles, and the fight and psychostasis of Achilles and Memnon) are again pretentious, though now their execution is of a finicky, over-detailed precision with innumerable fussy incisions (see e.g. *fig. 38*, Heracles and Hebe and the toes on dinos C2, *figs. 42, 44*).⁶⁴ The composition is simple (apart from the kneeling Thetis) and the result, therefore, may be interesting but is weak.

Curiously enough, on this vase the painter returns to the East Greek technique of painting white directly on the clay over a thin outline in brown; this technique is used for the skin of Zeus and the other gods and goddesses and in other details such as the winged boar on Achilles' shield and the nearer trace horse (*figs. 37-41*);⁶⁵ and details like eyes, mouths etc. are not incised but painted in brown lines on this white. This method is also found on the dinos List C2⁶⁶ where the warriors' eyes are not incised, *figs. 42-43*. The Eight Painter too sometimes paints details in white instead of incising them: on List A5 the wavy, vertical folds in the women's frocks are painted (*fig. 5a*).

There is another curious aspect on the Ricci hydria in which the Ribbon Painter shows his East Greek origin: an ear ornament that consists in a number of tiny jewels attached to the *upper edge* of the lobe (just visible on *figs. 38-40*). Except for this vase (and some Caeretan hydriae) we do not find this East Greek fashion on any vases that are supposed to have been produced in or near Etruria.⁶⁷

So the vase is surprising but, forty years ago, we attributed its unusually pretentious scenes, together with the combat on List C2, to the Ribbon Painter,⁶⁸ because of the identical appearance of the hoplites of C12 (Bonn hydria), those on the belly of C11 (Achilles and Memnon) and on the dinos C2; and further there are the remarkable V-shaped incisions on the calves of the figures (and greaves) of these vases (visible in *figs. 36, 42, 43*; see the *comments* in List E).

There is one, minor, point that deserves our attention before we turn to the ornaments of the two painters: it is curious that on the ten dinoi of the Ribbon Painter the only humans are beardless youths, there are no bearded men nor are there females. On the Ricci hydria (List C11, *figs. 37-41*), however, Heracles and the gods do wear beards, but without moustaches.⁶⁹ The bearded men and satyrs of the Eight Painter are all without moustaches (e.g. *fig. 62*, List A3). This is also true for the heavily bearded centaurs (List C12, *fig. 36*) of the Ribbon Painter and the single satyr we have of him (List C2, *fig. 43*; for the time being we do not include here the amphora List D5, *fig. 72*, which will be discussed at length below). The satyrs of the Hoof Painter also wear heavy beards but no moustaches (*figs. 49-53*) and so do his Dionysus and Hephaestus who have short-trimmed beards (*fig. 48*), just as the same gods of the Eight Painter on List A2 (*figs. 55-56*). The omission of a tiny detail such as a moustache needs not be meant as 'realistic'; it is common in the Orientalizing period,⁷⁰ even in Protoattic, but in the 6th century the omission is less common. In Chiot ware⁷¹ the moustacheless beards are very similar to the beard-style of our painters. The Petrie Painter, on the other hand, who in many respects is very close to the Eight Painter, does indicate the moustache (though only with a tiny incised line: CVA *Br. Mus.* 8, pls. Gr. Br. 583.2; 585.1; 586.2; 587.11). It should be noted that also the bearded figures on the vases of our Lists D ('Chanenko' group) and E ('Northampton' amphorae) lack moustaches - except Argos and the right-hand centaur on List E1 (*figs. 67-69*; I have doubt about the centaur of *fig. 68*).

Ornaments (*figs. 45-46*)

We tend to forget that the ornaments on a vase need not be by the painter of the figure scenes; often they are not - demonstrably so, for example, on some Caeretan hydriae.⁷² On the dinoi, however, there can be no doubt that they are by the painters themselves: this appears from the fact that the ornaments of the one painter differ consistently from those of his colleague.

The main ornament of the Ribbon Painter is, of course, his 'ribbon'.⁷³ It is a reserved (seemingly red-fig.) ornament, that appears, e.g. in Fikellura,⁷⁴ and is found on many of his vases, sometimes even twice (*figs. 22 ff., 45Cg*),⁷⁵ but never on those of his colleague.

Also the tongue patterns differ: those of the Eight Painter (*figs. 19, 45Bc type 1*) are simple com-

partments filled with thick black and thin red strokes; the ends of the tongues are hardly curved and form a continuous line.⁷⁶ However, on his amphora A9, the one from Karnak (*fig. 47b*), he surprisingly uses the form of the Ribbon Painter though rather weakly (*fig. 45Bc type 2*, see *figs. 29-32*). These tongues have separate outlines lying next to each other. There are dots between the curved ends of the tongues, often painted white, e.g. on the foot of the Ricci hydria, List C11 (*fig. 37*). This tongue pattern is widely used elsewhere (List D2 and E5, *figs. 65, 71*).⁷⁷

The other ornaments of the two painters are also different: the lotus-bud friezes of the Eight Painter are to be seen in *fig. 45A1-7*; note that *fig. 45A4* is also used by the Hoof Painter (List B1).⁷⁸ The buds in the lotus-bud friezes of the Ribbon Painter, *fig. 45A8-9*, are heart-shaped and split through the middle by reservation, while the lotuses have two extra petals, short strokes at either side of the central one (*figs. 22 ff.*); the same ornament is found on two Northampton amphorae (List E2 and E4, *figs. 74, 78*).⁷⁹ A more elaborate variant - with curving tendrils at either side ending in spirals and buds in axils - is found on List C4 (*fig. 45A9*).

Apart from his ribbon, the painter likes loop patterns (*fig. 45Cf*; e.g. *figs. 25, 35, 37*, List C9, C11, C12); these again he has in common with a Northampton amphora (List E3, *fig. 75*), where the black blobs have white cores.⁸⁰ A more primitive form of this ornament is found on the combat dinos, List C2, in which the loops cross each other and form a kind of misshapen figures-of-eight (*fig. 46b*).⁸¹ Related is the knobby motive of figure-of-eight shields of List C4 (*fig. 45Be*), for which I know no parallel. Of the other ornaments we must, in the first place, mention a very sophisticated double cable with palmettes in the axils on List C2 by the Ribbon Painter (*fig. 45Cm and 46c*). Since this highly intricate, colourful⁸² ornament has been executed with such mastership, a perfection that is unusual in East Greek schools, we may perhaps think of a separate draughtsman for ornaments; this the more so, because the meander complexes under the handles of the Ricci hydria (List C11, *figs. 37, 45Cl*) lack precision.⁸³ At any rate, one might perhaps hesitate to accept that the Ribbon Painter was responsible for both so excellent and so negligent a pattern (Bonn hydria, List C12).

Of all ornaments the ivy branch is the most common. The twigs are straight, in contrast with many other fabrics (*fig. 45Ba*).⁸⁴ Sometimes the leaves are said to be black and red alternately

(List A6, A7?, B1 of C1?, E1); but, at least in some cases, this may be a misleading impression caused by discolouring.⁸⁵ 'Pipe raggers' on the rim of List A7, *figs. 8, 45Cj*, were popular at all times. Motives that are common to both painters and elsewhere, are chevrons (*fig. 45Bd*; List A1, C1, C5, C8),⁸⁶ but the other linear ornaments are a bit surprising in their stiffness. These are not shared by the two painters but the types they use, are closely related.⁸⁷ A large, horizontal zig-zag filled, above and below, with multiple chevrons is seen on List A6 (Eight Painter, *fig. 45Ch*).⁸⁸ Exceptional too is the ornament of List C6 (Ribbon Painter): a long row of loosely drawn concentric diamonds, the angles of which are again filled, above and below, with multiple chevrons (*fig. 45Ci*).⁸⁹ Rare also is the frieze of battlements filled with concentric squares (*figs. 29-30, 46a*, List C10, also by the Ribbon Painter).⁹⁰

Scale patterns with white dots on black centres (here only on List C8, *fig. 45Ck*) are very common in East Greece (Petrie Painter and others).⁹¹ Double spikes at the base of a dinos, arranged in two tiers (small ones halfway up between tall ones) are found only on List A6 (*figs. 20, 45Bb type 2*), but are frequent elsewhere, e.g., in the Northampton group, List E1-4 (*figs. 74, 75, 78*).

Finally, the very long spikes used above the black bottom of most dinoi (*fig. 45Bb type 1*) are very common in East Greece even before 600 BC, both on the lower part of the vases and as decorative patterns in plates.⁹² The purple (or red) lines on the black (of the bottoms) of the dinoi are also very frequent in East Greek pottery.

Subject Matter

We have already spoken of the extraordinary themes on the two hydriae List C11-12 and the heroic combat on the dinos List C2, but the most frequent theme on the dinoi is, of course: dancing for joy.⁹³

On the dinoi by the Eight Painter most dancers are satyrs but there are also dancing youths and men, and, once, even dancing centaurs, or so it seems (List A4, see below). For dancing satyrs see List A2 (the escort of the return of Hephaestus), A5 (mixed with quietly standing 'maenads'), A6, and the fragmentary dinos A7, here published (*figs. 1-6*). For dancing men see List A3. The satyrs on List A2 are dancing to the tune of the double pipes, and so are the youths on A1, who accompany the ritual pounding of *figs. 11-15*.

As we have seen above, this joyful dancing usually consists in a rhythmic thumping of the

floor with the right foot, while landing on the left (List A1, A2, A6 and the dinos here published, A7, *figs. 1-6*).⁹⁴ The dance of the men on A3 is wilder, more exuberant and uncoordinated. Note that as a rule one foot is flat on the ground whereas the men of the Ribbon Painter often dance on their toes, while leaning far forward and waving their arms and hands above their heads (*figs. 29-32*).

A very surprising dancing party - if that is what is meant - by our Eight Painter is that of the centaurs on A4, each centaur consisting of a rhythmically dancing satyr (very like those of List A2) joined to half a horse. The scene might be explained as centaurs fleeing from Heracles, but their ballet-like movements (the right knee being lifted high up) copies those of the dancing satyrs of the Eight Painter. Curiously enough, there is a similar 'chorus' of centaurs by the Ribbon Painter (one or two brandishing clubs), but their knees are not lifted high up and their attitude looks aggressive (Copenhagen, List C6).⁹⁵ On A5 the movement of the satyrs is slightly more varied (*fig. 5a*).⁹⁶ The extreme modesty of the ladies on this dinos (not recognizable as maenads) is puzzling and so is the whole scene. The satyrs on A6 dance exactly as on A7 (*figs. 1-6*).⁹⁷

Special subjects of the Eight Painter are the return of Hephaestus (List A2), the pounding of corn or some other material (List A1, here *figs. 9-16*) and the horsemen on Shelby White's dinos (List A8, here *figs. 18-19*). On his amphora (List A9, *fig. 47a-b*) - which is said to be from Egypt and, therefore, could have been made before he emigrated to the West (but see below) - we find two youths boxing and a satyr leading a huge ram. Here we see the white dots he loves to use (so far hardly mentioned here and usually faded; note the satyr on B, who is covered with a fine hail storm - a truly 'woolly satyr'); and the double, curved incisions scattered over thighs and calves (compare our *figs. 1-5, 12* etc.) which are so characteristic.⁹⁸ His total lack of anatomical skill and lack of grace is far from unusual in East Greek pottery (especially the Petrie Painter), where, incidentally, there is much sexual ferocity,⁹⁹ which contrasts sharply with the, perhaps rather unexpected, chastity of our Eight Painter: of all his satyrs only one is ithyphallic and this brute is occupied with his double pipes (List A2). Incidentally, the same erotic modesty is shown by the Ribbon Painter.¹⁰⁰ The lack of ability as a draughtsman of the Eight Painter is nicely counterbalanced by the wild joy of his figures and the thumping noise of his scenes.¹⁰¹

His secondary frieze on the dinos List A3 contains sirens, sphinxes and a cock; such friezes (including other animals) are more common with the Ribbon Painter (List C2, C5, C7, C10).

Compared to the Eight Painter there is no doubt that the Ribbon Painter is vastly superior. As we have seen, his scenes are usually directed to right,¹⁰² but the creatures in his secondary friezes are turned to left. His routine theme is also dancing, but, as we have seen, the attitudes are very different from those of the Eight Painter; besides, the dancers are youths: List C1, C3, C5, C10 (*figs. 29-33*). Curiously enough, there are no satyrs on his dinos (except the shield emblem just mentioned, on the dinos List C2, *fig. 43* - a masturbating satyr), but there is a splendid specimen on the amphora List D5 (*fig. 72*), which, as we shall see, cannot easily be separated from the Ribbon Painter. Further, the front parts of his centaurs are satyrs; see the 'chorus' of centaurs on List C6, mentioned above, and the - rather different - centaurs on the shoulder of List C12 (*fig. 36*). A quiet composition is seen on List C4 (youth between sirens and one between sphinxes, cocks etc., *fig. 34*), and there are the fierce but ballet-like attacks on two boars (List C9, here *figs. 22-28*).

This must suffice; we may now turn to Den Boer's

HOOF PAINTER

1. *Dinos by the Hoof Painter in Würzburg* (List B1, *figs. 48-54*)

This dinos, Würzburg H5352, has been thoroughly published (Hölscher 1975, 24-26, pls. 26-8),¹⁰³ but its attribution has proved a problem.

Its figure scene, the return of Hephaestus, follows the same model as the Louvre dinos List A2 (*figs. 55-58*). In fact, at first sight, the similarity is such that an attribution to the Eight Painter seems obvious. Even the heads and beards of the two gods are similar (*figs. 48, 56*). Another similarity is invisible on the photographs. As Hölscher tells us: there are numerous '*Muskelangaben mit weissen Linien*' (these lines are visible on B2, see *figs. 59-61*). However, on closer observation, the two vases are consistently, though not obviously, different, also as regards the central group and the mule: there are big double curves incised on the ramp of the Louvre mule (and on all the satyrs of that dinos), and the animal, burdened by a huge penis with red scrotum, seems to amble (*fig. 55*); further there are differences in the necks, shoulders, chins, mouths, ears and almost all other details of

the animals and the physique of their riders (figs. 48, 55-56); the Louvre mule wears two large twigs over its ears, which seem to consist of ivy leaves, surely befitting the occasion. Further comparison may be left to the reader, though the photographs of the Louvre dinos in the CVA (Gaultier 1995, pls. 8-9, pls. France 1540-1) are disappointingly vague.

The number of figures on the Louvre vase (not counting the mule) is ten, on the other eleven. On both there is a cauldron on a tripod stand (fig. 51); on B1 it is painted with white dots and a white frontal face of a satyr (fig. 54).¹⁰⁴ On both vases there are many white dots and other coloured additions but these are hardly visible now.¹⁰⁵

Both processions are led by a satyr blowing the double pipes (List B1: figs. 52-53; the one on the Paris vase is ithyphallic). Counting from this satyr to right, the satyrs behind the mules (no 4 on both dinoi) carry wine skins though not in the same way (fig. 49). The Hoof Painter, who is more inventive,¹⁰⁶ gives his satyr no 4, like nos 5, 10 and 11, a (curiously diminutive) drinking horn in the hand, but he also burdens him with a large, bulging wineskin tied as a rucksack to his back (fig. 49).¹⁰⁷ Further down the line satyr no 6 (fig. 50) playfully swings his wineskin, which was bound to his back, in the face of his comrade, no 7, who jumps backwards warding it off with awkward gestures.¹⁰⁸ Such pranks are unknown in the work of the Eight Painter.

The dancing movements of the satyrs on the Würzburg vase are varied (figs. 49-52); the satyrs of the Eight Painter are all turned to left and standing, or rather 'landing' on their left foot (fig. 57), while lifting their right knee; two are kicking one leg high up in the air (nos 8 and 9, rather like a soccer player kicking a high ball) and so does no 9 of the Hoof Painter's satyrs (fig. 51); this, admittedly, is a similarity and there are more: also the tails are the same, with a wavy incision down the middle (the Eight Painter also paints tails of another kind: covered with separate very sharp locks of hair, figs. 1 ff.); and even the lotus bud friezes of the two dinoi are close (figs. 45A type 2 and 4); but on the dinos by the Hoof Painter, the tongues are alternately white, black, red, black, which is unique for the Campana dinoi (figs. 48-49).¹⁰⁹

This may suffice; it is clear that Den Boer had reason to disbelieve the attribution to the Eight Painter. Our main argument, however, is the striking difference in the faces and heads of the satyrs (figs. 49-53, 58). We have seen that the Eight Painter uses two kinds of satyr heads, but also the one we have met above (figs. 4-6) is glaringly dif-

ferent from those of the Hoof Painter. A feature that seemed particularly significant to Den Boer is, of course, that the Hoof Painter regularly incises hooves with fetlocks right through the human feet of his satyrs (mostly the feet that are on the ground, figs. 49-51, 59-61): this suggested the name, Hoof Painter.

Den Boer summarizes her arguments as follows.

A. the main differences with the Eight Painter:

1. The human ears are not 8-shaped, but nearer to those used by the Ribbon Painter (hardly visible on fig. 52, Dionysus).
2. The genitals are not drawn through the upper part of the near thigh (figs. 49 ff.).
3. The mouths are not indicated with double lines, as the Eight Painter always does (figs. 49 ff.).
4. In the beards of satyrs the upper outline forms a continuous line that undulates from the ear to the tip of the beard (figs. 49-52).
5. There are no curved double incisions in thighs and calves (figs. 48-52; contrast figs 4-6, 47).
6. Nostrils are indicated (figs. 49, 53).
7. The forehead hair of satyrs is indicated by very short lines.
8. In the ears of satyrs we find two tiny vertical lines indicating the inner shell (contrast fig. 53 with 4 ff.; also Ribbon Painter, figs. 36, 43).

Why this dinos cannot be attributed to the Ribbon Painter (as Gaultier 1995, 23 does) will appear below, when we study the sherds in Amsterdam List B2 (figs. 59-61), but the main reasons may be summarized here.

B. Differences with the Ribbon Painter:

1. Hooves and fetlocks are often incised through the feet (figs. 49-51, 59a, 61b).
2. There is much contour incision (negligent, not following the outline of the painted areas; e.g. fig. 53).
3. There are many coloured lines, as Hölscher 1975 tells us, in the bodies and members on B1 (unfortunately not visible in our pictures, but shown in the drawings of B2, fig. 60).
4. The genitals are less detailed and less naturalistic (figs. 49-52, contrast 24-28).
5. The upper end of the contour of the thigh does not continue in a curved hip line (*iliac crest*, as in figs. 22 ff., 36).
6. The animals are, as we shall see, badly drawn compared to those of the Ribbon Painter (figs. 59-60, 64, 37).
7. The movement of the figures is mainly to left and more lumbering, the buttocks are less protruding, the loins less slender (contrast figs. 22 ff., 29-31).

8. Other slight deviations are that the individual locks of the beards are different from those of the satyrs and centaurs by the Ribbon Painter (figs. 36, 43, 49-53) and that the tongue pattern on the dinos of figs. 48-49 is of the simple type of the Eight Painter (fig. 45Bc type 1) but red-black-white-black which, so far, is unique in the dinoi.

The Hoof Painter seems halfway between the other two artisans; he is related to the Eight Painter, though somewhat less undisciplined (but sometimes his arms are nearly as miss-shapen, see satyrs no 4 and no 1 in figs. 49, 53), and he is definitely inferior to (and clearly differs from) the Ribbon Painter, though his incisions for the deltoids, human ears, nostrils and similar details are reminiscent of this painter. Possible doubt about the necessity to believe in a third 'Campana' painter for the Würzburg dinos are, however, taken away by the study of the following fragments in the museum in Amsterdam.

2. Allard Pierson Museum, no 8959 a-c; figs. 59-61.

Acquired in 1979 in Zurich. Provenance: unknown, but probably Italy.

These sherds are to be published in detail in the forthcoming CVA of the Allard Pierson Museum; our description may be summary.

Condition

Surface well-preserved, glossy, darkish orange. The base of the dinos was painted with brown-black brush strokes; there are three red lines along its top, but no spikes above it.

Inside: uneven brown-black brushstrokes, thinner inside the curve of the shoulder (fragment b).

The drawings of fig. 60, by Den Boer, faithfully record the white and red¹¹⁰ lines on the bodies, arms and calves of the satyrs and on the bodies of the animals; therefore, there is no need to speak of them in the following description (they are hardly visible on the sherds).

Parts of two figure friezes remain. Of the ivy frieze on the shoulder (separated from the figure frieze by a single brown line) part of one leaf is to be seen and the tip of another to its right (fragment b). Curiously, the twig by which the leaf should be connected to a central branch is lacking; yet, the notch in which it should be attached, is preserved and quite deep.¹¹¹

The upper figure frieze (probable height 7.5-8 cm, figs. 59-60) contained a row of satyrs dancing to left on a double ground line (the lower one very

faint and touching the ears of the panther below). The ends of the tails of three satyrs are preserved, the legs and feet (or hooves) of two, and the tips of two hands. Of satyr no 1 (counting from left to right) we have only the tip of his tail. Satyr no 2 must have been similar to satyr no 10 of fig. 51, whose tail is also far behind his feet: he is jumping and 'landing' on his left hoof, while his right foot is still in the air. His tail touches the foot (hoof) of satyr no 3 (fig. 61b).

The stance of satyr 3 is puzzling. His legs seem very far apart and both hooves are flat on the ground, which is highly unusual. The tip of his right hand is in front of the tail of satyr no 2 (apparently overlapping this tail); he may have had very long arms (compare the right-hand figure on fig. 62, detail of List A3, by the Eight Painter) but, in that case, he must have been bending far forward. The hand behind him might be his left hand (some figures do indeed spread their arms very wide: fig. 2 no 4 and fig. 4 no 2), but this would be very awkward. When bending forward, the other elbow is usually raised and the hand is at the level of the hip or higher, see fig. 62, right-hand figure. In this detail of List A3, the hand of a person to the right (mostly lost) is in exactly the same position as the tip of the hand behind satyr no 3 on fig. 61d; therefore, this hand probably belongs to another satyr (no 4) while it crosses the tail of satyr no 3. What these two satyrs may have looked like can also be guessed from two men dancing on a stand in Berlin, List D6, here fig. 63a-b (this stand seems also by the Hoof Painter): if, in imagination, we add tails to these two dancing komasts, we see that the right arm and hand of the man on fig. 63b crosses the imaginary tail of the other figure, and that the tip of the left hand of the komast on fig. 63a is in the same position as that hand on figs. 59, 60.

The satyr on the fragment of figs. 59c and 60c (length 5.1 cm) must have been similar to the dancing satyrs nos 9-10 on fig. 51. He is moving to left turning his head to right, his left elbow thrust out. Three short, slanting, incised lines (on the left) indicate the skin folds in the profile of the belly; and, above them, two vertical incised lines mark the tip of the long hair falling down behind the ear. The curve of the thick lower lip is preserved above the beard (compare the satyr's lip in fig. 53), each lock of which consists of one long and one short incision (both slightly S-shaped and rather carelessly drawn). The upper outline of this beard is an undulating incision running from lip to tip. Note the short incision in the elbow and the three coloured lines on the breast (fig.

60c). On the edge of the fragment, at the extreme right, there are tiny incisions belonging to the (left) elbow of another satyr.

A third sherd belonging to the same scene of frolicking satyrs is preserved in fragment b (figs. 59b, 60b). The satyr on the left of this fragment moved, or jumped, to left, not looking round but ahead, his left elbow raised. Apparently his long hair fell to the left of the preserved part of his shoulder, in which the deltoid is marked with the usual pair of curved incisions (see, e.g. satyrs nos 5-6 and 9-10 in figs. 49, 50, 51). This particular stance is reversed on the dinos in Würzburg (satyr 6, figs. 49-50); it is frequent in the work of the Eight Painter (e.g. figs. 4, 6). Thus it appears that our satyr was dancing away from his curious colleague next to him (fig. 61a).

What remains of this satyr is the upper part of a frontal face, with wide-open eyes, round, 'staring' irises, tear ducts and double-curved upper and lower eyelids. The ears are finely incised (two short lines inside the auricle), short curves mark the hair, the eyebrows are raised and frowning (double-curved). It is a surprisingly expressive and well-drawn face. The distended eyes and contracted brows suggest tension or exertion; one would like to believe that the satyr is blowing the double-pipes, like certain later frontal satyrs do and, for example, at an earlier date, Kalliope on the François Krater who is also facing us while playing on the Pan pipes.¹¹² As I have said, the painter had a streak of originality. He also sketched a rather wild frontal face of a satyr in white on a cauldron on the dinos in Würzburg (fig. 54).¹¹³

The lower frieze of our dinos (fig. 59a) was an animal frieze (height 6 cm) with a very thin ground line, about 0.5 cm above the painted base. To left there is a tiny part of a short tail and the (red) buttocks of a buck (fig. 61c). The main figure is a panther jumping to left (length 13.5 cm); it is almost entirely preserved except for the tip of the left forepaw and part of its tail (figs. 59a, 60a). Its front legs are raised, its neck almost vertical; the thin, long body rises with a curve to the rump; the off hind leg is far behind, the long tail forms an ample curve. Note its neatly shaped ears (fig. 61c); the forehead line continues in a rather wobbly nose that does not properly end in its tip. Three scratches at either side weakly indicate snarling. The eyes, filled with round pupils, look surprised. The hairs of the neck are finely incised along its contour. The forelegs are far too short. The body is slender with an incised belly stripe.

For the colours see Den Boer's drawing (fig. 60a), and note that, again, the inside of the upper

part of the off hind leg is painted red (compare the mule of fig. 48 and the animals in the lower frieze of the Ricci hydria, List C11, fig. 37).

That this is a work by the Hoof Painter appears from the hooves incised through the feet (fig. 60a), and from the use of almost complete but careless contour incision.

The style of this Painter differs manifestly from that of the Ribbon Painter, since the panthers of List C7 (fig. 64) and C11 are far superior to the poor animal of our fragments (List B2). There are, however, similarities: we have seen the curving incisions the Hoof Painter uses for the deltoid in the shoulders (figs. 49-51), which are rather like the Ribbon Painter's. But note the inner markings of the satyrs' ears, which differ from the ears of the centaurs and satyr of the Ribbon Painter (figs. 36, 43). A tiny detail is the single incised short stroke in elbows (fig. 60c) and knees (figs. 49-52). Note the nice small curves indicating the nostrils (figs. 49, 53), never found with the Eight Painter, but not unlike the Ribbon painter's.

Clearly, the Hoof Painter is a better draughtsman than the Eight Painter, yet, he may draw very bad arms (see the satyr no 1 who blows the pipes, in figs. 52, 53). So far, there are no animal friezes in the work of the Eight Painter, but the clumsy panther of our fragments (figs. 59a, 60a, 61c) would not be beyond him. This beast probably is a rather inapt imitation by the Hoof Painter of animals by the Ribbon Painter (compare fig. 64, List C7 and fig. 37 = List C11, lower register).

Though the Hoof Painter is a tolerable draughtsman, the remarkably expressive frontal face of the satyr of figs. 59b, 60b, 61a comes as a surprise. It is unexpectedly well-drawn and similar to the frontal head of a centaur on the Bonn hydria by the Ribbon Painter (fig 36, List C12). On closer inspection, however, there are differences in nearly every detail: ears, brows, nose and eyes.

After this, rather lengthy, discussion of the three painters and their work, we must now turn to the vexed question of

THE RELATION WITH THE NORTHAMPTON AMPHORAE,
THE ARTISTIC TRADITION, THE LOCATION OF THE
WORKSHOP

See Martelli 1981, 7 ff.; Hemelrijk 1984, 186; Gaultier 1995, 21; Cook/Dupont 1998, 111.

Unfortunately, the progress that has been made in these questions in the last hundred years is disappointing. This is due to the lack, or inaccessibility, of publications of the excavations and dis-

coveries round the Black Sea and also, rather less understandably, of the Turkish excavations on the North and West coasts of Anatolia (one may think of Clazomenae, Phocaea, Pitane and the like). To all likelihood material relevant to our discussion has been discovered and not, or hardly, been published or is lying hidden in some store room. Clearly, to decide these questions requires knowledge of much more material than is now available to us. Yet, we must try to give an opinion.

It is certain that the Campana dinoi and the Northampton group started somewhere in East Greece. Also the shape of the dinoi is regarded as probably from East Greek origin.¹¹⁴

As for the Northampton amphorae, the two sets of fragments List E5 (part: *fig. 65*) and E6 (from Panticapaeum and Berezan) prove, in our opinion, that these amphorae were made in East Greece or the Pontus Euxinus (their style is generally regarded as North Ionian) and that, therefore, they were imported into Etruria, a theory that formerly seemed far-fetched.

This, curiously enough, is not confirmed by the clay analysis of the Castle Ashby amphora (List E3, *figs. 75-77*) which, as R.E. Jones tells us,¹¹⁵ is different from bl. *fig.* Clazomenian and from the closely related Karnak vase, our List F1; further also from Pontic bl. *fig.*, while the closest correspondence is, surprisingly, with the Caeretan hydriae, which in their turn were different from those of the Etruria control samples.¹¹⁶ Clearly it would be useful to have further analyses, especially of the sherds List E5-6.¹¹⁷ This might clinch the matter definitively.

As for the relation between the Northampton amphorae and the Campana dinoi, Boardman¹¹⁸ suggests that the belly amphora of the Northampton Group, Munich 585 (List E1, *figs. 66-69*) is by the same hand as the Würzburg dinos (Hoof Painter, List B1). This cannot be right, because the Hoof Painter is a definitely lesser artist (see the comment ad List E1), but Boardman probably meant to say that the vase is by the Ribbon Painter, which may be true. It is certainly closer to the Ribbon Painter than the other 'Northampton' amphorae, though certain differences and complicated consequences make us hesitate (see below and comment ad List E1). Further, Cook writes that he would not 'be surprised if the Ribbon Painter turned out to have painted the rest of the Northampton amphoras';¹¹⁹ this seems impossible for the amphorae List E2-4 (*figs. 74 ff.*), mainly because of the finely profiled shape, the over-delicate and Atticizing ornaments and the thin-legged figure style (see our comments in List E).

The case of the Campana dinoi is far more complicated than that of the Northampton amphorae. The question whether the dinoi were made in Etruria or imported from the East, hinges mainly on the two amphorae List A9 (*fig. 47a-b*) and D5 (*fig. 72a-b*). Both belong to Cook's Clazomenian vases, though A9 is regarded by Cook as not Clazomenian (Cook 1952, 140a). It can, we think, not be separated from amphorae of Cook's Urla Group; its shape and overall painting is all but identical with Cook's p. 133 *fig. 4* (profile of an amphora of the Urla group) and the neck palmette is like that of a neck of this group (R.M. Cook, *CVA Br. Mus.* 8, pls. Gr. Br. 588.10; 589.2, p. 21 no 10). Since A9 is, we firmly believe, by the Eight Painter, he must have worked in a shop of the Urla group. If we want him to have been active in Etruria, we must assume that he decorated it before he left for the West, and that in Etruria he continued working, starting with dinoi like List A1 (the dinos in Boston, *figs. 9-17*). This is just possible, but it will be argued below that it is unlikely.

Its consequence would be that we should make a similar assumption for the amphora List D5 (*fig. 72a-b*). This vase is the most confusing of all items under consideration. It may well be from the hand of the Ribbon Painter. It is Cook's Enmann class D1 (Cook 1952, 134) and its overall painting is exactly like that of Cook's Enmann class D3 (his pl. 30, and also its shape is very similar). There is not the slightest doubt that these amphorae were made in the same East Greek workshop but the figure painting of Cook's pl. 30 is rather different from his D1 (our D5) and the style of the Ribbon Painter; yet there is, Cook tells us, the same 'pattern of the calf' (the chevron-like calf marking of the Ribbon Painter, see below). To worsen the confusion, the satyr on Cook's pl. 30 looks rather like the forepart of the centaurs on our List C6 (the dinos in Copenhagen), both as regards his beard (its shape and the lack of incisions for hairs), the rather cruder genitals and the tiny curves incised in the knees (see comment ad List C6). Whether this similarity should lead to a change in our attributions, is not clear.

Anyway, our conclusion must be that the Eight and the Ribbon painters worked in East Greece in two different workshops, that of Cook's Urla Group and of his Enmann Class. This seems impossible but, however this may be, we are certain that, later on, they sat in the same workshop painting dinoi, wherever that shop may have been. One is inclined to believe that Cook's groupings of 'Clazomenian' vases may be defective or misleading, or should be conflated.

If the vase List D5 (*fig. 72*) is to be attributed to the Ribbon Painter it also involves other vases of list D,¹²⁰ most of which have an Eastern provenance.¹²¹ It seems impossible to assume that all these were made before the Ribbon Painter migrated to Etruria, for they do not seem earlier than the Campana dinoi by the Ribbon Painter and their number is such that it becomes almost inevitable to conclude that the painter stayed where he was and that his dinoi were imported into Etruria. We are unable to decide this definitively but will give detailed comments *ad* List D and E.

What makes us doubtful about the identification of the painters of these vases is that various typical markings may be, and actually are, due to a general style-tradition of some East Greek pottery region rather than to the hand of our dinos painter(s). This is clearly the case with certain stylizations of the knee, mainly those in, e.g. *figs. 67, 72*, which are also found elsewhere, e.g. *fig. 73* (not visible) and 77 (satyr 2) and in the Clazomenian Petrie group.¹²² Even more telling seem the V-shaped (or chevron-like) incisions in the calves of men and satyrs, used by the Ribbon Painter, though only in his pretentious pieces (his two hydriae, C11 and C12, and the heroic combat on List C2, e.g. *figs. 36, 42, 43*).¹²³ These markings have been mentioned above and are found on a Northampton amphora (List E4, *fig. 79*), on several items in List D (D1, D5, D3; *figs. 70, 72, 73*) and even outside this List (Cook 1952, pl. 30, just mentioned). If this marking were distinctive of the Ribbon Painter himself only (which, in our opinion, it hardly can be), it would mean that all these vases are from his hand; also the Northampton amphora with the wild copulations (List E4, *figs. 79-80*), which are so unlike the modesty of the Campana Painters. This we find very difficult to believe, not because of this erotic scene, but because of the neatly profiled shape, the ornamental style and the rather spindly figures of this and the other two Northampton amphorae (List E2-E3; see *figs. 74-78* and the comments *ad* List E).

Clearly, we must conclude that we can no longer believe - as, formerly, with many others, we did - that the artisans of the Campana dinoi migrated to Etruria after having worked in East Greece (and, possibly, Egypt). Besides, it should be noted that, though in the second part of the sixth century 'Ionian' influence in Etruria is very strong, there is no convincing evidence that the dinoi had any effect on Etruscan vase painting or Etruscan art in general, nor do I believe that the artisans were influenced by Etruscan models or artists.¹²⁴

A final point must be made: the presence in Etruria of such a relatively large number of dinoi painted by these painters and their complete absence from the East (among the items of List D there are no dinoi), is curious and might still seem an argument in favour of the earlier assumption.¹²⁵ However, the Etruscan clients may have had a strong liking for them, just as they had for the so-called Tyrrhenian amphorae. At any rate, in view of the very closely related items of List D and E, found in the Eastern regions, we feel forced to accept that the Campana dinoi were imported from the east.

LISTS OF THE DINOI AND RELATED VASES

For a full bibliography and references to illustrations see Gaultier 1995: we add between [] the numbers she uses in her lists and we include some measurements, mainly taken from her text. For convenience we also add incidentally figures in Martelli's well-illustrated article of 1981 and in other books and articles.

Two dinoi are unknown to us:

- I) Gaultier 1995, 21 mentions a fragmentary dinos pointed out in *BA* 35-36 (1986) 15, from Caere;
- II) Jasper Gaunt tells me that there is a dinos with stand in Colorado, USA, but so far we have no further information.

As for *Stands*: four stands are known at present: see below, sub A6, A8, C8 (*figs. 18, 20, 21*) and the stand just mentioned, sub II).

A. Eight Painter (= Painter Louvre 736).

So called after the 8-shaped human ears.

Gaultier 1995, 25, lists seven dinoi of this painter.

Dinoi

A1, Boston 13205 (ex-Ruspoli) [Gaultier 1995, 25 no 2]. A. Fairbanks, *AJA* 23 (1919) 279-281; *Catalogue of the Greek and Etruscan Vases*, Cambridge MA, 1928, no 546, pl. 58; Boardman 1998, fig. 492 {H. 22 cm, Diam. 28 cm, Diam. mouth with rim 20 cm}.

Preparing victuals in a mortar; twelve persons, including two flute players and six dancing youths; except one flute player and a girl, all figures are turned to left (figs. 9-17).

A2, Louvre 10233 (ex-Campana) [Gaultier 1995, 25 no 3, pls. 8-9, 13]. Villard 1949, 33 ff, *figs. 1-3*, pl. V. {H. 23.5 cm, Diam. 28 cm, Diam. mouth with rim 19.5 cm, without rim 14.5 cm}.

Return of Hephaestus with eight satyrs, one blowing the double pipes, cauldron on tripod; all figures turned to left (figs. 55-58).

A3, Louvre 10234 (ex-Campana) [Gaultier 1995, 25 no 4, pls.10-12]. Villard 1949, 38 ff., figs. 4-9; Walter-Karydi 1973, pl. 128.954. {Base incomplete: H. > 21 cm, Diam. 31 cm (!), Diam mouth with rim 20 cm, without rim 15.5 cm}.

Two figure friezes. *Nineteen men dancing to left, above frieze of four sphinxes, four sirens and a cock, all to left. No spikes (fig. 62).*

A4, Villa Giulia 25134, frr., from Bieda [Gaultier 1995, 25 no 6]. P.V.C. Baur, *Centaurs in ancient art*, Berlin 1912, 125, fig. 34; CVA Rome, *Villa Giulia 3*, pl. It. 99, 4-6. {height of figures 11 cm}.

Centaurs to left, dancing (?) like satyrs.

A5, Louvre E736 (ex-Campana) [Gaultier 1995, 24-25, pls. 6-7, 13]. BCH 1893, 423-424, fig.1; Villard 1949, 44 ff., figs. 14-17. {H. 21 cm, Diam. 28 cm, Diam. mouth with rim 19.5 cm, without rim 14.5 cm}.

Eight standing women and nine dancing satyrs, all to left; numerous coloured lines on the bodies of the satyrs (fig. 5a).

A6, Vienna 3578 (ex-Castellani) [Gaultier 1995, 25 no 5]. K. Masner, *Sammlung antiker Vasen und Terracotten*, Vienna 1892, no 215, pl. 5; Boardman 1998, fig. 490. {H. 20 cm}.

Eleven dancing satyrs, to left (fig. 20). On stand.

A7, New York, Met. Mus. 1971.259 a-c; donation Dietrich von Bothmer 1971; half a dinos; published here. {H. as reconstructed: 21.7 cm, Diam. 30.3 cm, Diam. mouth with rim 20.5 cm, without rim 15.5 cm}.

Satyrs dancing to left; nine preserved, originally thirteen or perhaps fourteen. No spikes (figs.1-8).

A8, New York, Coll. Shelby White, soon to be published extensively, but see description above. {H. 18.2 cm, Diam. 26 cm, Diam mouth 14 cm, rim 2.2 cm}.

Six nude men on horseback galloping to left; one bearded (figs.18-19). On stand.

Amphora

A9 Berlin 5844, from Karnak, bought in Luxor [Gaultier 1995, 25 no 1]. Cook 1952, 140 a and pl. 32; Walter-Karydi 1973, pl. 128.935; Boardman 1958, pl. 11b; Kunisch 1971, pl. 174.4; Boardman 1998, fig. 351. {H. 34.8 cm}.

*A. Youths boxing; the nose of the left one is bleeding.¹²⁶
B. 'Woolly' satyr leading huge ram (fig. 47).*

Comment

As Gaultier points out, this vase must be regarded as belonging to Cook's Urla Group, where we meet the same amphorae, also with the same palmette on the neck: see CVA Br. Mus. 8 (Gr. Br. 13) p. 22 fig. 5 and pl. Gr. Br. 589.2. As the vase must be attributed to the Eight Painter, his dinoi should also belong to the Urla Group, a purely East Greek class of pottery. The vase is rather heavy; it seems unlikely that its potter also modelled the fine, rounded hydriae of the Campana series (List C 11 and 12, figs. 35, 37). It also contrasts sharply with the finely profiled amphorae of the Northampton group, which, in their turn, seem too sophisticated for the potter of the dinoi (figs. 74, 75, 78). The tongues on the shoulder are more elaborate than is usual with the Eight Painter (fig. 45Bc type 2) but they are less precise than those of the Ribbon Painter.

B. Hoof Painter

Dinoi

B1, Würzburg, H5352, from the Art Market, said to be from Sicily [Gaultier 1995, 23 no 11]. Hölscher 1975, 24-26, pls. 26-28; Hellas, *Goden en Mensen, Europolia* 82, Brussels 1982, no 24 (G. Beckel); LIMC IV, s.v. Hephaistos no 137b, p. 639; Boardman 1980, fig. 243; Cook/Dupont 1998, 110, fig. 13.2; Boardman 1998, fig. 491; 2001, fig. 106. {H. 20.8 cm, Diam. mouth with rim 19.1 cm}.

Return of Hephaestus, with nine satyrs, six to left (figs. 48-54).

B2, Amsterdam, fragments Allard Pierson Museum 8959a-c, forthcoming CVA Allard Pierson Museum.

Two figure friezes. *Dancing satyrs above, animal frieze below, all to left; no spikes (figs. 59-61).*

C. Ribbon Painter (= Painter Louvre 737 and 739) See Gaultier 1995, 22-23, whose list contains the same dinoi but also our B1.

Dinoi

C1, Louvre E 737 (ex-Campana) [Gaultier 1995, 22 no 3, pls. 2-3, 13.1-2]. Villard 1949, 43 ff., fig. 10. {H. 21 cm, Diam. 28 cm, Diam. mouth with rim 20.5 cm, without rim 15 cm}.

Fourteen youths, dancing to right (above two ribbon friezes). No spikes.

C2, Louvre E 739 (ex-Campana) [Gaultier 1995, 22 no 4, pls. 4-5, 13.3-4 and 42; some fr. in a Swiss private collection and in the University of Würzburg; Gaultier 1995, 24, pl. 42.1-4: e.g. *Gorgo* with painted eye-lashes; plenty of white dots]. Jones 1986, 686 ff.; Boardman 1998, fig. 489. {H. 23 cm, Diam 28 cm, Diam. mouth with rim 19 cm, without rim 14.5 cm}.

Two figure friezes. *Combat of eight hoplites and three Scythian archers (six turned to right and five to left) above frieze of eight sirens to left, and bud on a long twig (figs. 42-44, 46e).*

Compare the style of the main frieze of the Ricci hydria, List C11, figs. 37-41.

C3, Florence 3784 (ex-Campana) [Gaultier 1995, 22 no 6]. Villard 1949, 43, figs. 11-13; Walter-Karydi 1973, pl. 128.955; Martelli 1981, figs. 35-37; Cristofani *et al.* 1995, 185 (coloured pictures). {H. 22.5 cm; Diam. 29 cm; Diam. mouth 15.1 cm}. *Nine youths dancing to right and a flute player to left (figs. 31-33).*

C4, Villa Giulia, no inv., from Caere [Gaultier 1995, 22-23 no 7]. Same tomb - via Diroccata Tomb 1 - as two Caeretan hydriae (Hemelrijk 1984, nos 9 and 20). Boardman 1958, 11; Martelli 1981, figs. 43-46; Cook 1989, 169, fig. 3.

Youth in loincloth between sirens, youth between sphinxes, confronting cocks and confronting sirens (fig. 34). No spikes.

C5, Villa Giulia, fragments, no inv., from Caere [Gaultier 1995, 23, no 8]. Hardly published. Martelli 1981, n. 46 and fig. 38.

Two figure friezes. *Dancing youths above animal frieze with big-antlered, white-dotted deer (on one sherd claws of some sort of monkey or misshapen feet).* Compare the strange legs with those of Hephaestus (hardly visible in fig. 55).

C6, Copenhagen 13443, from Caere [Gaultier 1995, 22 no 5]. From same tomb as the Caeretan hydria in Dunedin. Hemelrijk 1984, no 26. N. Breitenstein, Graeske Vaser, *Perspektiv* 5 (1958) 13, fig. 2; AIRRS 22, 74 n. fig. 6; Cook/Hemelrijk 1963, 115 fig. 10; not well-published.

Nine centaurs (with hooved front legs) running (or dancing?) to left; one - or more? - brandishing a club in his 'left' hand.

Comment

More contour incision than usual? Genitals and knees like List B1 (figs. 48 -54). The centaurs con-

sist of complete satyrs attached to hind parts of horses (different from those of List C12) . They seem left-handed; see for this kind of confusion fig. 76 and Hemelrijk 1984, 150, pl. 104b and pls. 43-44 and 97-98. Their beards lack internal incisions for hairs like the satyr of Cook's Enmann Class no 3 (Cook 1952, pl. 30).

C7, Heidelberg 157, fr., from Orvieto [Gaultier 1995, 23 no 9]. CVA Heidelberg 1, pl. 4.5.

Two figure friezes. *Part of lower frieze preserved: deer, panther and undetermined feline (fig. 64).*

C8, Rome, Musei Capitolini inv. no 329 [Gaultier 1995, 23 no 10]. {H. 18 cm, Diam. 27 cm, Diam. mouth with rim 16 cm}. Giglioli/Bianco 1965, IID pls. 1.11; 2.1-2 (pls. Italia 1733-4); Walter-Karydi 1973, pl. 128.956 (p. 71).

No figures. Scales. Two ribbon friezes below. No spikes. Small. With stand, Musei Capitolini inv. no. 353 (fig. 21).

C9, Unknown private collection in the USA; in 1994 on loan in the J. Paul Getty Museum (L94. AA.11.19) [Gaultier 1995, 23 no 14]. Mentioned by Gaultier, p. 21 as in a private collection in London. Published here. {Diam. rim 19.6 cm, Diam. mouth 15 cm}.

Four ornament friezes on the body. *Twice five youths to right, each team attacking boar to left. Below: ribbon - lotus bud - ribbon. No spikes (figs. 22-28)*

C10, Malibu inv. 83.AE. 249 [Gaultier 1995, 23 no 13, also p. 21]. Gift of Stefan Hornak. *J. Paul Getty Museum Journal* 12 (1984) 250, no 100; de Puma 2000, no 23, pls. 498.3 and 499-500. {H. 21.1 cm, Diam. 28 cm, Diam. mouth with rim 19.5 cm, without rim 15 cm, rim wide 2.4 cm}.

Two figure friezes, separated by a battlement frieze (filled with concentric squares, fig. 46a). Upper frieze: *fourteen dancing youths (one probably playing double pipes, six turned to right).* Lower frieze: *nine sirens (to left) and a goose (to right). No spikes (figs. 29-30).*

Hydriae

C11, 'Ricci hydria', Villa Giulia, no inv., from Caere [Gaultier 1995, 22 no 2]. G. Ricci, ASA 24-26 (1946-1948), 47-57; Laurens 1986, figs. 1, 2, 5-8; Martelli Cristofani 1976, 193, figs. 61-62; Cerchiai 1995, 81 ff. [with ten very good photographs; see below comment]; Boardman 1998, fig. 488. {H. 44.5 cm, Diam. 34.5 cm}.

Shoulder: *Grand sacrifice* (Boardman 1958, 10-11, n. 30 and pl. IIa; F. Willemsen, AM 76 (1961) 214-

215, *Beilage* 9.2; J.L. Durand, in *La Cuisine du Sacrifice en Pays Grec*, Paris 1979, 133-157; *La Cité des Images (Religion et Société en Grèce)*, Paris 1984, 50, fig. 74; G. Zimmer, *Griechische Bronzegusswerkstätten*, Mainz am Rhein 1990, 150, pl. 13b.

A. *Heracles being pulled by Hebe into her quadriga to be conducted to Olympus, escorted by Hermes, Iris; all figures turned to right*. B. *Psychostasis of Achilles and Memnon*. Below: *animal frieze* (figs. 37-41).

Comment

The style of the main frieze is like that of Louvre E739 (above, C2) and was formerly not taken to be by the painter of the other friezes. Langlotz 1975, 191, attributes it to the Northampton group.

The treatment of this hydria by L. Cerchiai in AK 1995, p. 81-91, is an attempt to elicit political intentions from the combination of the three scenes: they are called: a 'Programm der Versöhnung.....als Gegenwicht zur negativen Propaganda (in Caere) seit ... der Opferung der phokäischen Gefangenen'. This imaginative hyper-interpretation should, I believe, be wholly ignored.¹²⁷

The theme of the shoulder is regarded as the arrival of Dionysus in Etruria and the institution of the first sacrifice: the small priest on the shoulder can, however, hardly be meant to represent the first, all-decisive epiphany of the great god Dionysus.

C12, 'Bonn hydria'; Bonn 2674 [Gaultier 1995, 22 no 1]. Cook/Hemelrijk 1963, 107-114, figs. 1-9; Martelli 1981, figs. 33-4. {H. 43.7 cm}.

A-B: *Hunting deer on horseback (six horsemen, three to left and three to right)*.

Shoulder: *Nine centaurs (one dead) fighting eleven Lapiths including Kaineus, two men killed* (figs. 35-36).¹²⁸

LISTS D (VERY CLOSE TO THE RIBBON PAINTER) AND E (THE 'NORTHAMPTON' AMPHORAE)

The comment on vases of groups D and E cannot be given separately.

Comment

There is much contour incision in both groups D and E.

Den Boer 1986 judges as follows: 'The group of amphora fragments (and one askos) of List D, is a unity, rightly attributed to one paint-

er.¹²⁹ The men of D1 and D3 (figs. 70, 73) are clearly by the same hand ('chevron' incisions in calves, thick buttocks and heavy thighs with two incisions, narrow waist, loin cloths with white dots in seams, pointed beards). The big satyr of D5 (fig. 72) seems by the same hand (because of the calf marking, the thighs and buttocks, the knee cap like D3 - hardly visible in fig. 73 - and the short incisions along the belly). His head is similar to that of D2 (fig. 71; beard, hair, ears, nostril; for the much bigger eye of D2 see comment there). Remarkable are the hands grasping objects on the vases of List C, D and E (D5, fig. 72; E1, figs. 66 ff.; E5, fig. 65; C2, this detail is not illustrated here).'

Are we, as Den Boer in 1986 suggested, to believe that the vases of List D may be attributed to the Ribbon Painter (except D6, which seems to be by the Hoof painter)? Let us look at the stylizations typical of the Ribbon Painter: the marking of the deltoids on the shoulders (D3, fig. 73); the contour lines of the thigh continuing into the hip (the *iliac crest*) in D5 - comparable to those in E1, Argos (fig. 67), E3 (fig. 77), E4 (fig. 79) and the more elegant ones on the Ribbon Painter's C12 (fig. 36); the indication of the foreskin (D5, fig. 72, compare fig. 28), the special shape of beards (D2, fig. 71; D5, fig. 72; E1, figs. 68, 69; also E3; fig. 77), and the V-shaped (or chevron-like) markings of calves (D1, D3, D5; also E4; figs. 70, 73, 72, 79, compare List C2, C11, C12, fig. 42). Such similarities might seem to indicate that all these items are by one painter, and we may continue in the same vein: the details of the dancing and jumping of the figures on List D3 (fig. 73; hands, arms and legs) are found on List C3 (figs. 31, 32) and the stance of the satyr of D5 (fig. 72) is like that of the satyr on the shield of C2 (fig. 43; the heads are not very similar). The white dots in the seams of the loin cloths of D1, D3 (figs. 70, 73) are seen on C4 (not illustrated) and more such similarities can probably be pointed out.

As for the amphora List E1 (figs. 66-69), Martelli includes it in her Chaneneko group, but this vase is a puzzling problem. Its ornaments are strongly Atticizing and closely connected with the amphorae E2-E4 (figs. 74 ff.) and its shape is entirely different from the rather crude amphora D5 (fig. 72b) and, except for its foot, looks rather Attic. Yet the painting of E1 is in several respects very similar to that of D5 (fig. 72a-b): broad chests, heavy thighs, knees of Argos and the satyr of D5, their hands (and that of Hermes, fig. 66), beards, and hair. On the other hand the centaurs of E1 are of the mainland type (only their torsos are human), and their equine legs and bodies are very slen-

der (though their shoulders are broad; see further comment *ad* E1). Some figures do show similarities with the Ribbon Painter: so, for example, the knee of Argos (see Heracles on List C11 - not illustrated),¹³⁰ his beard (compare the centaurs of List C12, *fig. 36*), the drapery of Hermes (*fig. 66*, compare hydria List C11, *figs. 37 ff.*); the delicate curves for the nostrils (*figs. 38 ff., 44*); the double incisions in the brows of the centaurs and Argos (see the centaurs of C12, *fig. 36*, and the shield emblem of C2, *fig. 43*) and the colours and incisions of equine shoulders (not shown here on *figs. 68, 69*, compare Bonn hydria, C12).

Against this tentative attribution by Den Boer of the vases of List D with E1 to the Ribbon Painter it may be pointed out, in the first place, that the repertory of these vases seems different from that of the Ribbon Painter's. Besides, the proportions of the figures on the fragmentary vases of List D differ from those of Ribbon Painter's men: heavy thighs with sturdy muscle markings and thin arms. The faces with straight, pointed beards (on D1 and D3, *figs. 70, 73*) seem unknown in his work, but they are like Dionysus and Hephaestus on List B1 (*fig. 48*) and they reappear in the Northampton group, List E4 (*figs 79, 80*; see below). The emphatic contour incisions also seem unlike the usually swift, loose manner of painting of the Ribbon Painter.

But there is more. If all these vases were by the Ribbon Painter, his artistic personality would be even more complex than it already supposedly is. His artistic personality is, as we have seen, double: a workaday style for ordinary work and a grand style for his pretentious painting (both sometimes deployed on one and the same vase; see his hydriae List C11-12; *figs. 35-41*).

Summarizing we may conclude that, in spite of the similarities, it must be considered unlikely that all these vases are by the same hand.

Incidentally, as has been said above, List D6 is probably from the hand of the Hoof Painter (because of the bad proportions, thin arms and less finely drawn genitals); the knee caps of this stand are, as we have seen, known from East Greek ware and also from the Ribbon Painter (*fig. 63*).

D. Very close to Ribbon Painter (D6 to Hoof Painter)
See CH, 185-187 with notes. List D1-6 were collected by Martelli 1981, 7 ff. as the 'Chanenکو' group,¹³¹ including the 'Northampton' amphora Munich 585.

D1, fr. of amphora, Pushkin Museum M999, from Panticapaeum. Alexandrescu 1976, 57, pl. 26, *fig. 10*; Martelli 1981, 7 n. 33, *fig. 26*.

Subject unexplained. *Arms of a very small flute player*;¹³² *singing (?) man climbing up a curved wall with a lattice fence or basket below (grotto or hulk?*¹³³ *Or is he treading grapes?)* (*fig. 70*).

Comment

Same painter as D3. The style seems halfway between our two painters: calf marking like Ribbon Painter's (*figs. 36, 42, 43*); much contour incision (like Hoof Painter); proportions, drawing of arms, hands, shoulder, beard (straight and rather long) not quite like Ribbon Painter.

D2, fr. of amphora, Bucarest V 5736, from Histria. Alexandrescu 1976, *fig. 8*; 1978, pl. 23, 238; Martelli 1981, n. 32, *fig. 25*.

Satyr's head and shoulder, probably leading animal: part of a rein or leash under right armpit (*fig. 71*).¹³⁴

Comment

The distended eye denotes agitation or exertion. Compare Ribbon Painter *fig. 36, 43*.

D3, 'Chanenکو askos', Kiev, from Olbia. Waldhauer 1929, *figs. 1-3* (graffito in red under foot in the form of a tree above a number of short vertical lines); Cook 1952, 134, Enmann Class 2; Martelli 1981, *figs. 5-7*; Cook/Dupont 1998, *fig. 12.6*.

Dancing man in loincloth at either side of handle. Bud on long curving twig in both fields (*figs. 73, 46h*).

Comment

Calf marking of Ribbon Painter. Knee like that of the satyr of list D5. Beards straight and rather long. The running postures of the komasts are not far from those of some of the youths on List C3, *figs. 31, 32* (mirrored: legs, buttocks, arms and hands). Same painter as List D1. Buds like *fig. 46h*.

D4, lost; fr. amphora, from Larisa. Cook 1952, 135, Enmann Class e; Martelli 1981, n. 34 and *fig. 27* (Boehlau/Schefold, *Larisa III*, pl. 58, *fig. 1*; Hemelrijk 1984, 185, n. 898).

Youthful horsebinder.

Less clearly related to the Ribbon Painter.

D5, fragmentary amphora, Berlin 2932, from Rhodes. Cook 1952, p.134, Enmann Class D1; Kunisch 1971, 40, *fig. 18*, pl. 174; Boardman 1998, *fig. 347*. {H. 25.3 cm}.

A. *Two satyrs holding a colossal amphora by the handles*. B. *Tail of cock* (*figs. 72a-b*).¹³⁵

Comment

Discussed at length above. Rather crude broad shape, typical of Cook's Enmann Class and very like Cook's Enmann Class D3, his pl. 30: bulging body, flattish, wide foot (not very well-thrown and not very accurately rendered in *fig. 72b*), low, broad neck, echinus lip; less refined than the dinoi. Painting very like that of the Ribbon Painter (see above), but thighs and buttocks heavy. Compare Argos of List E1 (*fig. 67*) for beards, hands, calf markings, knee caps.

D6, stand Berlin 3220, bought in Rome [Gaultier 1995, 23 no 12]. Cook 1952, 135, Enmann Class Dc; Kunisch 1971, 43 with *fig. 20*, pl. 176; Cook/Hemelrijk 1963, *figs. 12-15*; Martelli 1981, p. 9, *fig. 39*. {H. 10.2 cm, Diam. 9.5 cm}.

Four nude komasts dancing to left (figs. 63a-d).

Comment

Attributed to the Ribbon Painter by Martelli 1981, 9. Most probably by the Hoof Painter but the painting is in some respects reminiscent of both painters. The men dance to left; their attitudes (one is deeply bending forward), their down-pointing hands, the clumsiness of (upper) arms and hands (compare *figs. 49, 50*), their shoulders, and penises are more reminiscent of the Hoof Painter (as are the contour incisions). Heads, beards and ears are like the Dionysus of the Hoof Painter, List B1, *fig. 48*. The man of *fig. 63a* has both feet flat on the ground, like the satyr 3 of B2, *fig. 59a* (above). The feet of the komasts of D6 are clumsy (*fig. 63*), but not wholly unlike feet by the Ribbon Painter such as those on List C10, where we find the same knee caps (*figs. 29, 30*; these caps are not uncommon in East Greece, and therefore not distinctive of the painter).¹³⁶ Two scrota seem red.

E. 'Northampton' amphorae

For early literature and the place of manufacture, see Cook 1952, 149-150.

Comment

Cook: 'The quality of the work is unusually good for East Greek.' In his note 139 he points out details that seem to him to belong to Etruria. It seems to us that these arguments can no longer be sustained.

There is much contour incision.

E1, Belly-amphora Munich 585, from Vulci. Walter-Karydi 1968, pls. 299-300; Langlotz 1975, 190, pl. 66.1; Martelli 1981, *figs. 28-9*. {H. 35.8 cm}.

A. *Hermes, Io, Argos*. B. *Two centaurs quarreling over a catch (centaur in pursuit menacing with a tree, trying to pull a small roebuck from the hand of the fleeing centaur); fox under the first centaur hunting a hare under the second one (figs. 66-69, colours invisible).*

Comment

Martelli 1981, 7-8 includes this amphora in her 'Chanenko' group. Gaultier 1995, 23, says about this vase and our List C2 (the combat dinos in the Louvre, *figs. 42-44*) that they are '*les oeuvres d'un même peintre ou de deux peintres très proches*'. Other scholars also separate it from the three Northampton amphorae, A2-4, because of its size and more powerful figure style. Complex ornaments painted with notable precision and even elegance, the one between the handles purely Attic; most of them very different from those of the dinoi. Much use of white and red: *figs 66 ff.* (ivy: red and black with curving twigs).

A. Argos is screaming; he is bleeding (short red strokes under his right nipple, not visible in *fig. 67*). He is being roused by Hermes' pulling the cord with which he holds Io (fastened to her horn), and which, for safety, he had wound round his left wrist.

B. The centaurs (*figs. 69-69*) are of mainland type (only the torso human); their very thin legs, the length of their bodies and manneristic slenderness contrast with the centaurs of the Ribbon Painter (see *fig. 36*, List C12). The right-hand centaur seems to cry out; he has a bristly moustache like Argos and his eye and eyebrow express excitement or anger. The comic strain of centaurs fighting over a catch reminds one of the playfulness of the Hoof Painter (e.g. *fig. 50*).

Note the curious claw of Hermes' right hand (*fig. 66*) and, contrasting with it, his fine left hand and the other hands on A and B (nails white!), very like the hand of the satyr on amphora List D5 (*fig. 72*). Hermes' over-detailed drapery with sharp zig-zag folds is very near to that of the Ricci hydria (List C11) and the dinos List C2, *figs. 37, 38, 42* (Heracles and the gods and warriors). The beards and hair of Argos and the foremost centaur seem electrified from fright or excitement (*figs. 67, 69*; compare also the expressions in the eyes of the two centaurs). Much contour incision. Note the buds in the field (*fig. 46h* - also on D3, *fig. 73* and E5, *fig. 65*).

In spite of these similarities, it does not seem safe to ascribe the vase to the Ribbon Painter.

E2, Neck-amphora Munich 586, from Vulci. Kunisch 1971, 43-44, pls. 297-298; Langlotz 1975, 190, pl. 66.3-4; Boardman 1998, fig. 486. {H. 23.4 cm}. Neck (A and B): *spiral-palmette growth, hares as fillers*. A. *King or master, seated, receiving a high-stemmed kylix and watching his horses being watered from a laver*.

B. *Two soldiers cutting down a small demon with winged feet wearing a furry skin, its claws knotted round his neck* (fig. 74).

Comment

Small neck-amphora thrown with precision. Edge of foot shaped (like those of List E3 and 4) with two rounded mouldings (cf. the feet of the stands, figs. 18, 20). The lotus-bud frieze, like that on List E4 (figs. 78, 45A8), is that of the Ribbon Painter's (fig. 22; List C3, C6, C9, also F1). The other ornaments are far from those of the dinoi.¹³⁷ Typical of this and the following amphorae (E3-6) are the spiral-palmette growths,¹³⁸ here on the neck (hares as fillers, fig. 74). The scenes are unusual: for possible, but unlikely interpretations see Walter-Karydi 1973, 44 (Diomedes' horses and Dolon). The figure style is in no respect like those of the Campana painters: the men are thin, the horses' heads are massive and very different from those of the Ribbon Painter (fig. 41) but exactly like those of E4 (not illustrated). Consistent emphatic contour incisions as on E3 and E4.

E3, Neck-amphora, ex-Castle Ashby, Northampton; now Niarchos collection. From Etruria. Walter-Karydi 1973, pl. 129. 932; Langlotz 1975, 190, pl. 66.2; Boardman/Robertson 1979, pls. A (colour), 1-3; *Christie's Sales Catalogue, The Castle Ashby vases*, 2 July 1980, no 99 (colour prints on cover and three in text); Boardman 1980, fig. 242; 1998, fig. 485; 2001, fig. 105. {H. 32.4 cm}. Clay analyzed, Jones 1986 p. 689: clay different from Clazomenian bl. fig. and from the amphora List F1 (from Egypt); also from Pontic bl. fig.; 'the closest correspondence, despite the difference in analytical technique, is with the Caeretan hydriae.'

Neck A and B: *Triton with dolphins*.

A. *Dionysus and his satyrs*. B, *pygmies on cranes flanking palmette-spiral growth with numerous fillers: fox, hare and hedgehogs* (figs. 75-77).

Comment

For shape and ornaments, compare E2 (fig. 74): the mirrored lotus palmettes around the belly are close to Attic. For the ornament on the rim, compare the

belly ornament of List C6 (fig. 45Ci); the loop pattern with dots around the lower belly is that of List C9, C11, C12, see note 80 (figs. 45Cf, 22 ff., 35, 37). Note the simplicity of the tongue pattern above the scenes: 'black tongues, undivided, white dots between their tips'. The large palmette spiral growth on B is like that of E5 (fig. 65). The pygmies on cranes seem to challenge each other to a fight (fig. 76; the one on the right seems left-handed, see comment ad List C6). See Simon/Hirmer 1976, 61-62 for an attractive explanation of the fox, hedgehog and the crane-riding pygmies; also Marangou 1995, 118. Cook 1952, 150 n. 139, regards Triton's belly stripe that continues up to the nipple as probably Etruscan; we doubt this. The figure style is far from that of the Campana painters, especially in the thin, high-heeled satyrs (fig. 77). However, some details are known from the dinoi; e.g. some of the hip lines of the satyrs of fig. 77 are like those of, e.g. the centaurs of fig. 36; but the faces and beards in fig. 77 are vapid compared to these centaurs and the satyr of fig. 43. Note the white sprigs round the heads, and the white askos and drinking horn of satyr no 1. Curious is the midget satyr blowing the pipes. Compare the cauldron on tripod with those in figs. 47, 51 (54). There is much emphatic (not very accurate), contour incision.

E4, Neck-amphora Würzburg L131, provenance unknown. E. Langlotz, *Griechische Vasen in Würzburg*, 1927, pls. 16-7; Walter-Karydi 1973, pl. 129, 933; E. Simon (ed), *Führer durch der Antiken Abteilung des Martin von Wagner Museum*, Würzburg, 1975, 80-81; M. Cristofani (ed.), *Gli Etruschi in Maremma, Popolamento e attività produttiva*, Milan 1981, 276, fig. 256. {H. 26.7 cm}.

Neck (A and B): *spiral-palmette growth with owlets as fillers*.

A. *Two warriors fighting over a soldier who is collapsing, biga*. B. *Four couples, three copulating* (fig. 78-80).

Comment

The ornaments are very different from those of the dinoi, except the lotus-bud above the spikes, also found on E2, and used by the Ribbon Painter (List C3, C6, C9 and F1; figs. 22, 45A type 8). Note the incisions in the buds of the other friezes.

The style of the humans and the horses is very different from that of the Ribbon Painter (compare List C2 and the hydriae C11 and 12; figs. 35-44). There are, however, some similarities: we see his calf marking and narrow hips with curved upper contour (iliac crest) and protruding buttocks (fig. 79). On the other hand, the male faces

of figs. 79, 80 are indistinguishable from that of Hermes of List E1, fig. 66.

E5, Fragments of neck-amphora M1001, Pushkin Museum, from Panticapaeum. Alexandrescu 1976, pl. 26 fig. 9; Martelli 1981, fig. 31 with n. 41. Neck black. On belly: on both sides (?): *palmette-spiral growth; a satyr on either side* (fig. 65, but the photos are unclear).

Comment

Parts of central palmette growth very like that of List E3 (fig. 75; compare also those on the necks of E2 and E4, figs. 74, 78). At either side a satyr grasps a spiral (his hand very like that of the satyr grasping the amphora handle on List D5, fig. 72). Parts remain of 3 satyrs. A puzzling ribbon (with black-white 'pearls', rather like Roman infulae) hangs along a central stem (?). A note by Robert Cook on the back of the photograph reads: 'small sherd, unpublished, with frontal head' (cf. the frontal heads of figs. 36, 54, 61a). There are buds on long stems of type *h* of fig. 46. The tongue pattern (fig. 45Bc type 2) is that of D2, C3, C4, C10, C11, C12 (figs. 71, 31, 34, 35, 36) and A9 (fig. 47). It is curious that this tongue pattern does not occur on the Northampton amphorae E1-E4 (on E3 tongues are all black and undivided).

E6, Fragments of amphora like D5, from Berezan; Ermitage. Martelli 1981, fig. 32 with n. 42. *Palmette-spiral growth*, exactly like the top of the central 'stem' of the ornament on List E3, side B, fig. 75.¹³⁹

The following vases and fragments are

F. Less Closely Related

F1, Frr. of large amphora Oxford 1924.64, from Karnak. CVA *Oxford II*, pl. Gr. Br. 401 (Ild pl. 10), 24; Boardman 1958, 10, pl. 1; 1980, 137, fig. 162; Hemelrijk 1984, notes 898 and 900; Boardman 1998, fig. 487, p. 220; Cook/Dupont 1998, 106. {Original ht. ca 55 cm}. Clay analyzed: different from E3 (Jones 1986, 689).

A. *Carrying the boat of Dionysus*. B. *Youth climbing huge vine, attacking colossal insect; dog and she-fox; lotus bud like fig. 45A type 8*.

Comment

Very tall amphora. E.R. Price, in CVA *Oxford II*, connects the scene with the fight against a locust plague.

F2, Fragment from Berezan: S.L. Solovyov, *Ancient Berezan*, Leiden 1999, 89, fig. 79. *Youth under ivy pergola catching some animal or insect on lime twig?* Compare F1; compare also the shoulder of C11 (Ricci hydria).

F3, Frr. of oinochoe (?) from Miletus (sanctuary of Aphrodite) kindly made known to me by Volkmar von Graeve.

Calydonian hunt, hunter with shield emblem of crab catching fish (fig. 82).

The dogs are very like those of F1.

F4, Fr. amphora, Cahn HC 1010, from Egypt. *Frühe Zeichner, 1500-500 v.Chr. Sammlung H.A. Cahn*, Waldkirch 1992, no 77. *Youthful horseman* (compare Northampton Amphora, List E2)

F5.¹⁴⁰ Fr. krater, Archaeological Institute of Bucharest From Tariverdi (W. of Istros). Tariverdi 1958, G. 54. M.M. Adamesteanu, *Il Mar Nero* 2 (1995-1996) 103 ff, figs. 1-2. {H. as preserved 12 cm; diam mouth 24 cm}.

A-B: *Hunt: billy goat, deer and youth*.

Bad photographs. White lines on torso and dots around nipples. Compared by Adamesteanu to Ribbon Painter, considered related to Enmann Class and possibly of local production (fig. 81, sketch from photographs by Helle Hochscheid).

NOTES

¹ I have written this article with the help of the excellent unpublished essay written by the undergraduate Elisabeth den Boer 1984 (see bibliography). In general I speak for my self but often I refer to her opinion. She has kindly agreed to sign as co-author.

For easy access to illustrations the reader should use Martelli 1981 and Gaultier 1995; see the 'Chronological list of chapters of books or articles that deal with the Campana dinoi including some that deal with the Northampton Group' at the end of this article.

² The name was coined by R.M. Cook (Cook 1952, 150, where also the earlier studies of the subject are recorded).

³ Ricci 1946-1948, 47; Martelli 1981, 14 n. 54. Hemelrijk 1984, 158-159, 186 tells us that List C4 (Villa Giulia) was found together with Hemelrijk 1984, 20, 36-37, nos 9 and 20; and List C7 with Hemelrijk 1984, 43, no 26.

⁴ Mistakenly indicated as the Painter of E676 by Cook in Cook/Dupont 1998, 108 and 110.

⁵ See Hemelrijk 1984, 186, n. 899.

⁶ Cook/Dupont 1998, xxviii

⁷ I am grateful to the authorities of the Metropolitan Museum and Joan Mertens for the permission to publish it, and to Dietrich von Bothmer and Elizabeth Kessler for all detailed information on colours, drawing and measurements.

⁸ There are profile drawings of the five dinoi in the

- Louvre (List A2-4, C1-2), of the one in Malibu (List C10) and there will be one in the forthcoming publication of the dinos in Shelby White's collection (List A8). Of course, there are slight differences: Villard 1949, 33 and 38, calls List A2 'conique' and A3 'plus sphérique'. For their shape see Gaultier 1995, 23.
- ⁹ This seems a normal height; that of the main frieze of the Louvre dinos List A2 is 9.2 cm and of A8 (coll. Shelby White) 9.3 cm; I expect the same of other dinoi. List A3 (Louvre 10234) has two figure friezes; the upper one is 6.7 cm, the lower one 6.5 cm (Villard 1949, 38). Two figure friezes also on List B2, C2, C5, C7.
- ¹⁰ Of course, the red of the buds (fig. 7) has not suffered oxidization, but the black of the lotuses has turned light brown.
- ¹¹ To indicate the rough position of such ornaments painters sometimes took a brush with watery 'black' and daubed the right spots with its tip, a form of preliminary drawing, also found on the Caeretan hydriae. Thus he was sure of the place for each bud while the light brownish paint would not show through the added red.
- ¹² Rather like old-fashioned telegraph wires; compare List A5 (fig. 45A type 7).
- ¹³ Counting from left to right.
- ¹⁴ The scene is very like that of the dinos in Vienna, List A6 (fig. 20), but there the satyrs are more widely spaced and total only nine.
- ¹⁵ See Gaultier 1995, 25 ad E736 (8-Painter); 27 Cp 10234 (same painter). It seems to me that the head-fragment of our satyr no 9 (together with the hand of no 8) is placed a little too far to the right (fig. 3); compare the left arm and hand of satyr no 3, which touches the head of no 4 (fig. 2).
- ¹⁶ These markings are very frequent on the dinoi and typical of East Greek pottery (see Villard 1949, 46 n. 4 and 47 n. 1). Sometimes they appear in photos before they are detected on the vases. The coloured prints of the Ricci hydria List C11, published by Cerchiai 1995, show that these lines are now white, then red. I am very grateful to Elizabeth Kessler for helping me to indicate them here, but they are very vague and it is often not clear whether they are red or white; mostly the colour is lost, and what remains seems a dark, black stroke, because the covering colour protected the surface against oxidization during the last phase of the firing. Here Kessler decides for red, but Hölscher 1975, 35 and Boardman 1979, 1-2 speak of white markings of the muscles. Often they seem black and are described as such. No 1: perhaps a red line on left elbow. No 2: in left lower arm (black, since the red is lost), red on left thigh and at right knee. No 3: red on upper left arm, two red ones on left thigh, one near right knee (half black), a slight red trace on right calf. No 4: at the right knee (white), on the right thigh (?), black in buttock and on left elbow. No 5: black stripe in right lower arm. No 6: black stripe on right shin and on left thigh. No 7: black one on right thigh and on shin under knee; perhaps two stripes on side of breast?
- ¹⁷ Waldhauer 1929, 237 believes that they are drawn 'um die Einsenkungen zwischen grossen Muskelpartien ... anzugeben'.
- ¹⁸ Roughly almond-shaped, as opposed to the harshly stylised, 'staring' Attic black-figure eye.
- ¹⁹ In contrast with the Hoof Painter (and Ribbon Painter), where the upper border of the beard is a continuous, curving line running from the ear to the tip of the beard (see figs. 36, 43, 49-50, 59).
- ²⁰ Den Boer (1986) hesitatingly suggested that the satyrs might belong to the cortege of Hephaestus returning to Olympus, a scene that occurs twice on the dinoi (List A no 2, List B no 1, figs 48, 55).
- ²¹ *JHS* 19 (1899) 144 no 6; A. Fairbanks, *AJA* 23 (1919) 279 ff. and *Catalogue of Greek and Etruscan Vases*, Boston, 1928, no 546, pl. 58.
- ²² Which is to my knowledge very rare on the dinoi and should be checked.
- ²³ This ornament is also found on another dinos by our painter, List A4.
- ²⁴ This is, to my knowledge, the only figure of the painter with an indication of the nostril, and an awkward one at that (fig. 12, right), very like those of the Clazomenian Petrie Painter, *CVA Br. Mus.* 8 (Gr. Br. 13), pls. Gr. Br. 583,2; 586.
- ²⁵ Some (or all?) scrota were red; this is not unusual on the dinoi.
- ²⁶ I am very grateful to be able to print two pictures here.
- ²⁷ Yet, the basic shape is the same: inclusive of the profile of the foot, the disks, 'pommel' etc.; see J. Boardman, *Athenian Black Figure Vases*, London 1974, figs. 11 and 24; or Boardman 2001, fig. 61. Earlier stands are very different, see Walter-Karydi 1973, 18, fig. 22 and her n. 39 (Payne, *Necrocorinthia*, 119 no 116).
- ²⁸ The black 'paint' and the shiny surface are much superior to those of the Caeretan hydriae; the black seems not far from Attic black.
- ²⁹ I have no measurement of its height and diam., nor of the height of the friezes, but the vase is very like the other dinoi, such as the one of figs. 18-19.
- ³⁰ It is, of course, not unique elsewhere, e.g. on Siana cups (H.A.G. Brijder, *Siana Cups* I, Amsterdam 1983, 147 with notes and fig. 40).
- ³¹ I have not seen any traces of such small white dots on the Ricci hydria and our dinos, but I may have missed them. White on black dots fill the scales of List C8.
- ³² This is the only dinos with two such friezes under the figured scene.
- ³³ The same ornament on List C3, C6, C9 and the Northampton amphorae List E4 (fig. 78) and, pendant, on E2 (fig. 74); also on F1.
- ³⁴ On Caeretan hydriae, Clazomenian sarcophagi etc., see Hemelrijk 1984, 124 and 181.
- ³⁵ The space between the jaw and the foreleg should have been left unpainted.
- ³⁶ The javelins should pass in front of their faces and left upper arms, but this is not made clear, an anomaly that is common at the time.
- ³⁷ Such smudges are often made and the painters are wise enough not to try to rub them off; on a fine Caeretan hydria in the Louvre, however, the Eagle Painter tried to rub off a blob of paint, which resulted in a very ugly area that almost spoiled the scene (Hemelrijk 1984, 12 pl. 30b, between Maja and the greybeard behind her).
- ³⁸ A bleeding boar is being sacrificed on the shoulder of the Ricci hydria (List C11) and the first centaur on the Bonn hydria (List C12) is wounded by a spear but no blood is visible (Cook/Hemelrijk 1963, fig. 3). On the amphora of the Eight Painter (List A9) the nose of the left-hand boxer is bleeding (fig. 47a).
- ³⁹ White nipples on List C1, C4 (?), and probably originally elsewhere.
- ⁴⁰ One may think of the great boar hunt on the famous cup by Archikles and Glaukytes in Munich, *CVA Munich* 11, pl. 2, 7-9.

- ⁴¹ Nothing is said about conservation, technique, surface, composition and colour of clay.
- ⁴² In the lower frieze this spot is, no doubt, indicated by the swan (turned to right) under dancer no 5.
- ⁴³ Also directed to right are the fourteen figures on List C1, and so are 9 out of 10 on List C3 (the 'oboe' player is turned to left!).
- ⁴⁴ A stance similar to our no. 10 (*fig. 30*), legs close together and bent, is seen on List C1, Gaultier 1995, pl. 3.2, but his upper part is lost.
- ⁴⁵ Odd birds occur more often, e.g. in a frieze of sirens and sphinxes on List A3.
- ⁴⁶ Cook/Dupont 1998, 111.
- ⁴⁷ See comment ad List A9; CVA *Br. Mus.* 8 (Gr. Br. 13), 21-22, *fig. 5* in text, and pl. Gr. Br. Pl. 589.2.
- ⁴⁸ For the origin of the frequent use of white dots in North Ionian pottery see Walter-Karydi 1973, 81 and n. 236 (Corinth and Attica). Other East Greek traits have been mentioned frequently above. There are, for example, the incised, short curves in the contour of male bellies in East Greek ware: CVA *Br. Mus.* 8 (Gr. Br. 13), pls. Gr. Br. 583.4; 584.1, 588.9, 592.1 etc. The shield emblem of a winged boar on List C2 (*fig. 42*) is often regarded as a reminiscence of coins from Clazomenae (see the text of CVA *Br. Mus.* 8, p. 17 by R.M. Cook about boars on shields); a famous Attic example is, of course, the Geryon cup by Euphronios (Boardman, *Att. R.F. Vases, Arch. Period*, London 1975, *fig. 26.2*).
- ⁴⁹ Such lines for example on the horse and the rider of the sherd 88.6-1.580a in London: CVA *Br. Mus.* 8, text ad pl. 588. 4, which is very close to the horsemen on the Bonn hydria List C 12. These lines are visible in the animals of the Ricci hydria (List C11) on the colour prints in Cerchiai 1995.
- ⁵⁰ E.g. the sphinxes of the Petrie Painter, CVA *Br. Mus.* 8, pl. Gr. Br. 583; also visible in my tracings, such as Cook's Urla group CII 14 (CVA *Br. Mus.* 8, pl. Gr.Br. 593.3), and Tübingen group A3a, Louvre Ca 1542, and no doubt on many more.
- ⁵¹ But the goddesses (and the gods) on List C11 are white (*figs. 38-40*). In Clazomenian the flesh of sphinxes and sirens is black, as on our dinoi.
- ⁵² For exceedingly bad drawing in East Greek pottery see, e.g., the very clumsy komasts in CVA *Br. Mus.* 8 (Gr. Br. 13), pl. Gr. Br. 583-587 (Petrie Painter).
- ⁵³ E.g. Walter-Karydi 1973, pls. 93.702; 96.791 and 803; CVA *Br. Mus.* 8, pl. Gr. Br. pl. 588.5. Compare also a krater fragment found in Smyrna, J.M. Cook 1965, no 34, pl. 27, which seems, also in other respects, a fore-runner of the Eight Painter.
- ⁵⁴ However, on photos it seems that the lower part of the 8 is sometimes coloured as a real disk, e.g. on the dancing men of List A3.
- ⁵⁵ Not, for example, the centaurs on List C6.
- ⁵⁶ Also the contours of Heracles on the Ricci hydria List C11 (*fig. 38*) are incised, and of the warriors on the dinos List C2 (*fig. 42*); more will be said about these vases below. On List C6 the contours of some arms are incised.
- ⁵⁷ This curious clumsiness is also found on the East Greek vase of the Petrie Group, CVA *Br. Mus.* 8 (Gr Br. 13) pl 583. On some dinoi the scrota are red (List A1-3, also of the mule on List C2).
- ⁵⁸ Which is very like the odd nostrils of the Petrie Painter: CVA *Br. Mus.* 8, pls. Gr. Br. 583.2; 586.
- ⁵⁹ The centaurs of C6 and C12 are different, not only in hair style and physiognomy but also in anatomy: those of C6 consist of satyrs to whose buttocks equine torsos are attached; the centaurs of C12 lack human buttocks.
- ⁶⁰ Note the round, wide-open eye of the right-hand centaur expressing the fear and excitement over the dangerous fight. Of course, very complex battle scenes are common in Attic, wonderful examples in a miniature style for example on cups in Munich: the big band-cup 2238, CVA *Munich* 11, pl. 58, 1-3, the droop cup Munich 2244, CVA *Munich* 10, pl. 42.1-3 (see *Kunst der Schale, Kultur des Trinkens*, 1990, St. Antikensammlungen, Munich, *figs. 16.1b; 2,33a, 14.1a*).
- ⁶¹ Such deer also on the frr. List C5. They are common in East Greek ware, see the nice example in Cook/Hemelrijk 1963, *fig.11*.
- ⁶² 'Die Vase hat durch ungeschicktes Reinigen sehr gelitten' as Langlotz 1971, 145 tells us.
- ⁶³ See for the treatment of this hydria by Cerchiai 1995 the comment ad List C11.
- ⁶⁴ This excessive desire for incised details seems alien to the usual, smooth and easy style of painting by the Ribbon Painter. It is particularly striking on his dinos C2, where the outfit of the warriors is rendered with the minutest details; on many feet all five toes are incised and on some also the nails and even the skin folds of the big toes (see *fig. 44*).
- ⁶⁵ This technique is, of course, at home in late Corinthian (Cook 1989, 168), but it is general in Eastern Greece. The same East Greek technique is used by the Paris Painter on his name piece and masterpiece in Munich, L. Hannestad, *The Paris Painter*, Copenhagen 1974, pls. 1-2 (skin of the goddesses, the clothes of Athena and Paris, the hair of the grey herald and the white bull; here the outline in brown is very clear; also many other details are painted on the white). Incidentally, I strongly object to the attribution of the two Corinthian vases Hannestad, *The Paris Painter*, nos 35 and 36, pls. 24-25 to the Pontic series and the Paris Painter (*ibid.* 29). For the white wheels of the chariot on the Ricci hydria, compare the wagon of the goddess on the East Greek hydria CVA *Br. Mus.* 8, pl. Gr. Br. 594.
- ⁶⁶ But the eyes of the sirens, in the frieze below, are incised, just as in Clazomenian pottery: CVA *Br. Mus.* 8, pl. Gr. Br. 583. For painted details see the sherds with the shield emblem of a Medusa, Gaultier 1995 pl. 42, and the rims of the shields (incidentally, perhaps also the Medusa of the shield is wearing the East Greek ear ornament mentioned below, but it is hardly visible). There is a frontal satyr face painted in white on the dinos-on-stand between the satyrs of List B1 (*fig. 54*).
- ⁶⁷ These have been described and discussed extensively by the author in *BABesch* 38 (1963) 28-51; see Hemelrijk 1984, 141, 172-173.
- ⁶⁸ Cook/Hemelrijk 1963, 114.
- ⁶⁹ There may be a line for a moustache in the face of Heracles.
- ⁷⁰ E.g. in E. Walter-Karydi, *Studien zur griechischen Vasenmalerei, Aeolische Kunst* (Ant.K. Beiheft 7) 1970, pls. 8-10.
- ⁷¹ *JHS* 44, 1924. pl. V; Cook/Dupont 1998, *fig. 9.1*.
- ⁷² For the rather clumsy ornament-painters on some Caeretan hydriae, see Hemelrijk 1984, 91-93.
- ⁷³ 'Ribbon' is a somewhat vague indication. It is described as a zigzag string of sausages by R.M. Cook, by Langlotz as *tongrundiges Muster diagonal stehender Blätter*, in French as *bande ondulée* or *ruban ondulé*.
- ⁷⁴ Fikellura, CVA *Br. Mus.* 8 (Gr. Br. 13) pl. Gr. Br. 573.5, but ribbons occur also on Attic, e.g. on Droop cups, for example, Munich 2259, CVA *Munich* 10, pl. 41.5-7 and

- in Pontic there is a variant on Basel, Zü 209 (L. Hannestad, *Followers of the Paris Painter*, Copenhagen 1976, no 15); see also M. Martelli (ed.), *La Ceramica degli Etruschi (La Pittura Vascolare)*, Florence 1987, 153, no 106; and in the work of the Corinthian Geladaki Painter (ca 570 BC), as Kees Neef kindly tells me.
- ⁷⁵ Double use of the ribbon on C1, C2 (on lip and belly), C8, C9; but no ribbon on C4, C5, C6 and C11.
- ⁷⁶ First the brown borderline was drawn and then a more wavy line covered it, forming the 'rounded' ends of the tongues. This pattern is also used by the Hoof painter, but with black, white and red tongues.
- ⁷⁷ With dots between their tops: e.g. CVA Br. Mus. 8, pl. 594.3. More usually, however, they are not drawn separately but share their common borderlines (*ibid.* pls. 582; 583; 584.3; 585; 586 etc.). Often there is a double outline round the curved ends: forerunners of this are found in the Wild Goat style, e.g., Walter-Karydi in *Aeolische Kunst*, Beiheft 7 of Ant.K., 1970, pls. 1 ff. See also the pretty motive on the amphora with deer mentioned above, Louvre CA 3357, Cook/Hemelrijk 1963, fig. 11. Incidentally, all tongue patterns on the dinoi seem to be black/red, except on the dinos in Würzburg (List B1), which is by the third painter, the Hoof Painter, introduced by Den Boer. In other East Greek schools they are usually black, red, black, white.
- ⁷⁸ The double strings, or 'telephone wires', connecting the flowers and buds on List A5 and 7 (fig. 45A6-7) derive from the more elaborate East Greek friezes such as Walter-Karydi 1973, 83, fig. 147, 149; see also pl. 124, 1008. The East Greek lotus-bud friezes are closely related but usually somewhat different: Walter-Karydi 1973, pl. 109, 962; 111, 964; 138, 1102 and 1059; Fikellura examples are nearer: *ibid.* pls. 4, 7, 85 ff. or CVA Br. Mus. 8, pls. Gr. Br. 569, 573-574, 576 etc.
- ⁷⁹ See the drawing in Walter-Karydi 1973, 83 figs. 151-152; in these drawings the two painters seem rather too similar. The frieze of fig. 45A8 descends without change from the Wild Goat style (e.g. sherds in the Cambridge Museum of Archaeology CAM MCA NA no 21).
- ⁸⁰ It is a far older East Greek ornament: Walter-Karydi 1973, pl. 101, 862-3 (Wild Goat style from Thasos). It also occurs on a Pontic amphora (P. Ducati, *Pontische Vasen*, Berlin 1932, pl. 17b; careless, black, with white dots on the black blobs; Hannestad, *The followers of the Paris Painter*, 1976, pl. 28) and, e.g. on Vatican 233, a near-Pontic plate with a profile of a lady in outline, clearly of about 480 BC, not regarded as Pontic by Hannestad (p. 81; it was by T. Dohrn), illustrated in *Un Artista Etrusco e il suo mondo, Il Pittore di Micali*, Rome 1988, no 68, fig. 178 (= 56), and the Micali painter uses it, *ibid.* pl. V and figs. 88, 98; N.J. Spivey, *The Micali Painter and his Followers*, Oxford 1987, pl. 19b. For an Etruscan phiale in Munich and a bronze specimen, see Langlotz 1975, pl. 67.8 and 9. See also Cook 1952, 150 n. 138.
- ⁸¹ It derives from patterns on vases of the Middle Wild Goat Style such as Cook/Dupont figs. 8.5; 8.6 and 8.21-22. See also *Samos V*, pl. 57, 338; 119, 600; 123-124 etc.
- ⁸² See Cook's description, Cook/Hemelrijk 1963, 107: 'spines of cables alternately black and red/purple'.
- ⁸³ Contrast the rather better meander complexes on the Pontic jug in Munich, Hannestad 1976, pl. 33, no 60 (similar but more varied). Good cable patterns are found on the Clazomenian sarcophagi and on Chiot chalices, e.g. *JHS* 44 (1924) pl. ix, 12; x etc. (Price, *Pottery of Naucratis*), and in Etruria, e.g. the Boccanera slabs such as Boardman 1994, 247, fig. 7.21.
- ⁸⁴ Usually the leaves are strictly opposite each other, but not always (e.g. List C5). The twigs are curved on the 'Northampton' amphora Munich 585, List E1. Den Boer believes that in the ivy frieze on List B2 (see below) these twigs connecting the leaves with the branch may have been lacking and also the central branch itself and the upper row of leaves.
- ⁸⁵ They are red and black, for example, on the amphora List E1 (Munich 585).
- ⁸⁶ They are not as plentiful as one might expect: e.g. Walter-Karydi 1973, pl. 102 (Thasos); 'East-Doric': pls. 130.1043; 131.1045; 135.1067; 137.1066 etc. Rare on Pontic: *Il Pittore di Micali, Un Artista Etrusco e Il Suo Mondo*, Rome 1988, figs. 76, 175.
- ⁸⁷ Reminiscent of these patterns are some used by the Etruscan Micali Painter: N.J. Spivey, *The Micali Painter and his followers*, Oxford 1987, pl. 14b, 22b and compare pl. 11b; one wonders whether there is any direct connection.
- ⁸⁸ East Greek: CVA Br. Mus. 8, pl. Gr. Britt. 576.6. Related is the row of lozenges with dots on the rim of the Northampton amphora List E3, fig. 75, and perhaps a pattern in Etruscan b.f.: N.J. Spivey, see preceding note.
- ⁸⁹ Described by Cook (Cook/Dupont 1998, 109) as 'band of boxed lozenges with boxed triangles filling the angles'; compare the polychrome motive on the Etruscan vase in Spivey, *op. cit.*, pl. 22b.
- ⁹⁰ Rather like the Corinthian (LC) krater Boardman 1998, fig. 402. They are also reminiscent of the complicated ULFA' maeanders (as Beazley called them: 'Upper and Lower Facing Alternately') on Fikellura, e.g., Walter-Karydi 1973, pls. 65.537; 85. 624 etc.
- ⁹¹ Scale Patterns: CVA Br. Mus. 8, pls. Gr. Britt. 585.4; 586 (Petrie Painter), 590, 591 etc.
- ⁹² E.g. Walter-Karydi 1973, pls. 64 ff., 73-74, 80 etc.
- ⁹³ Dancing men are popular in Clazomenian and earlier ware, for example, in Fikellura: e.g., Walter-Karydi 1973, pls. 84.613; 86; CVA Br. Mus. 8 (Gr. Br. 13) pls. Gr. Br. 586, 592; J.M. Cook 1965, nos 59-60 (pl. 33: one leg lifted high and loincloths with white dots). Villard 1949, 9-11, 43-44, 49 ff., gives a detailed analysis of these dances. He calls the dancing on C2 and C3 'un cōmos frénétique'.
- ⁹⁴ 'Landing' on this foot is depicted by the foot being in front of the median line of the body. See CVA Br. Mus. 8 (Gr. Br. 13) pl. Gr. Br. 592 and others for exactly the same 'stance' in East Greek pottery.
- ⁹⁵ The satyr-shaped front parts of these centaurs seem left-handed, but this confusion of left and right, back and front is not uncommon: the Caeretan Eagle Painter disliked back views so much that he sometimes drew breasts on nude male backs (Hemelrijk 1984, 150, pl. 104b and compare the centaurs of pls. 43-44 and 97-98).
- ⁹⁶ From BCH (1893) 29, fig. 1; this old drawing shows the curious white lines on the satyrs' bodies and the white crinkly folds in the women's skirts.
- ⁹⁷ Here too, like satyr 5 in fig. 2, one satyr is landing on his left foot with his right foot behind and off the ground, as Masner (p. 20) tells us, see ad List A6.
- ⁹⁸ Rows of white dots are ubiquitous in 'Clazomenian', e.g. CVA Oxford 2, pl. Gr. Br. 401. 8, 11-2, 17-8, 20, 24 etc.; CVA Br. Mus. (Gr. Br. 13), pls. Gr. Br. 582 - 590; Walter-Karydi 1973, 119.976; J.M. Cook 1965, nos 42, 45, 64-65 etc. The curved double incisions used by the Eight Painter seem to be rare, but see the Rhodian (?) amphora CVA Br. Mus. (Gr. Br. 13) pl. Gr. Br. 606.1-2.
- ⁹⁹ E.g. CVA Br. Mus. 8, Gr. Br. 13, pls. 583; 584.2 588.9.

- ¹⁰⁰ Except for a shield emblem on list C2, fig. 43 (see below) and a possible scurrilous gesture of a dancing youth on List C5, Martelli 1981, fig. 38.
- ¹⁰¹ That the tails of his satyrs and the manes of his horses are East Greek can be seen in *CVA Br. Mus.* 8, pls. Gr. Br. 585, 588, 591 etc.
- ¹⁰² Even the boar hunt of C9: therefore there are two big boars being attacked from the left (not from both sides) by two teams of five boys hunting to right!
- ¹⁰³ But no mention is made of the coloured wavy lines that are running parallel to the incised folds in the skirt of Dionysus' chiton (and there may also be coloured stripes in his sleeves); compare the white folds on the skirts of the women of List A5, here fig. 5a.
- ¹⁰⁴ Hölscher 1975, 35, fig. 18 and pl. 26.2
- ¹⁰⁵ On List B1 (figs. 48-49) the inside of the off hind leg is red, there is a row of white dots along the mule's shoulder, compare figs. 18-19; see further Hölscher 1975, 35.
- ¹⁰⁶ His satyr grasps, I think, the tail of the mule.
- ¹⁰⁷ With a white cord, as Hölscher tells us.
- ¹⁰⁸ The downward bend of the lower arm occurs also on List C10 (see de Puma 2000, pl. 500.1).
- ¹⁰⁹ There is an unusual 'odd man' in the frieze of spikes, under the mule: it is jammed between its neighbours.
- ¹¹⁰ I am not sure that some lines she calls red may not have been white.
- ¹¹¹ Den Boer, therefore, believes that this ivy frieze may have consisted in independent leaves without a central branch, perhaps forming a single row of leaves. This seems doubtful.
- ¹¹² The finest example is, of course, the satyr by the Kleophrades Painter on the amphora in Munich, see P.E. Arias/M. Hirmer, *Tausend Jahre Griechische Vasenkunst*, Munich 1960, pl. 122; for the François Krater see FR pl. 3, 11-12.
- ¹¹³ Hölscher 1975, 35, fig. 18.
- ¹¹⁴ Gaultier 1995, 23, but in the Wild Goat style dinoi are not frequent and look different (Walter-Karydi 1973, nos 176 ff., 558 ff., 646-647, 857-858, 951 ff. etc.).
- ¹¹⁵ Jones 1986, 688-689.
- ¹¹⁶ Yet, I am sure that they were made in Etruria.
- ¹¹⁷ Michael Kerschner tells me that, together with Mommsen, he is going to re-analyse the sample taken by Boardman from the Northampton amphora; they have a data base of several hundreds of samples taken from all the important centres of the East Aegean. So there is good hope!
- ¹¹⁸ *CVA Castle Ashby*, following Hölscher 1975, 35.
- ¹¹⁹ Cook/Dupont 1998, 110-111. Cook *ibid.*, 108 and 110, also says that he believes that the Eight Painter (here mistakenly called Painter of Louvre E676) made the one-piece amphora of the Northampton Group (List E1, Munich 585), but this must be a slip of the pen.
- ¹²⁰ Den Boer concludes that most vases of this List D, the so-called Chanenکو group, may well be by the Ribbon Painter (or his colleague, the Hoof Painter, see our comments ad List D and E).
- ¹²¹ The provenances that are relevant for the Campana dinoi are no longer nearly exclusively Etruria or Italy: they are Panticapaeum (D1, fig. 70), Histria (D2, fig. 71), Olbia (D3, fig. 73), Rhodes (D5, fig. 72), and Karnak (amphora A9, fig. 47, figuring a huge ram probably inspired by the cult of Ammon Re and therefore made with knowledge of the wishes of Egyptian customers).
- ¹²² *CVA Br. Mus.* 8 (Gr. Br. 13) pl. Gr. Br. 584, 1-3, Further the rather striking knees of figs. 29-32, 63 are also found in this Clazomenian group: *CVA Br. Mus.* 8, pl. Gr. Br. 583. Note that here scrota are drawn through the upper part of the thigh, just as the Eight Painter does. Clearly these ugly paintings are closely related!
- ¹²³ This marking belongs to the inside of the calf and not to the outside and the painter knew as much (see fig. 42) (on the greaves); once or twice a single curve is incised on the outside (not very true to nature); also the Hoof Painter sometimes lightly incises this curve, but he does so on both sides of the calves (figs. 51-52, satyrs no 9 and 11).
- ¹²⁴ It has been said that the colouring of the off legs of animals and the medley of the meander structures under the handles of the Ricci hydria (fig. 45C1) were due to such influence (Cook/Dupont 1998, 110); we have compared the meander complex of the Ricci hydria with such ornaments in Pontic pottery and a number of parallels in Etruscan pottery for the loop patterns of fig. 45Cf have been mentioned; and also for such patterns as fig. 45Ch and fig. Ci; but I doubt whether this points to a direct contact with the Campana dinoi.
- ¹²⁵ See for the different opinions Cook 1952, 150-151 and Cook/Dupont 1998, 111. Boardman 1994, 240 takes the Northampton amphorae to have been made in Etruria and then says: they have a local following in the Campana dinoi 'less likely to be by Greek artists or at least not first-generation Greeks', but we believe their style to be purely Greek.
- ¹²⁶ Compare the boxers on the amphora from Egypt in the collection Cahn, HC 1175 (with cartouche of Apries: *Sammlung Cahn* 1992, no 51; Boardman 1980, fig. 164; 1994, 161, fig. 5.5; Cook/Dupont 1998 p. 107).
- ¹²⁷ Incidentally, I may perhaps say that, personally, I do not at all appreciate the Italian habit of writing in Italian, compelling me to spend much time in trying to understand florid intellectual Italian prose. It is contrary to the obvious truth that Wissenschaft and scholarship and science are international; they transcend national borders and all scholarly communications ought to be made easily accessible for all students over the world. Italian, though a most beautiful language, does not fulfil that purpose.
- ¹²⁸ See K. Schauenburg AA 77, 760-762, figs. 11-12.
- ¹²⁹ D4 is somewhat doubtful, D6 now seems by the Hoof Painter.
- ¹³⁰ But this stylisation is also found on other East Greek vases. e.g. *CVA Br. Mus.* 8 (Gr. Br. 13) pl. Gr. Br. 584.1-3.
- ¹³¹ D3 was formerly in the Chanenکو collection.
- ¹³² Compare the midget satyr playing double pipes on the amphora, List E3 (fig. 77).
- ¹³³ Compare the boat of Dionysus on List F1.
- ¹³⁴ Compare J.M. Cook 1965, no 45 or Boardman 1998, fig. 350, 'woolly man leading camel'; and further, e.g. above, List A9 (fig. 47; satyr leading big ram) and Dionysus on List A2 (figs. 55-56).
- ¹³⁵ The drawing is from *JHS* 6 (1885) 181, fig. 1; fig. 2 (here fig. 72b) gives the shape (but the foot should be flatter and wider) and indicates what is left of the reverse. For such cocks, see, e.g., Cook 1952, pl. 31.2.
- ¹³⁶ See *CVA Br. Mus.* 8 (Gr. Br. 13), Gr. Br. Pl.583; Petrie group.
- ¹³⁷ Cook 1952, 150 n. 139: 'the clumsy cable (above the spikes) seems to me incredible in the native East Greek schools', but we do not think so.
- ¹³⁸ Forerunners of these palmette-volute growths are found in Fikellura: e.g. Walter-Karydi 1973, pl. 85.624.
- ¹³⁹ Langlotz 1975, pl. 61,6; prints a fine exaleiptron as belonging to the 'Northampton' series; see his pp. 190-

191 and he seems to believe that the fragments from Naucratis CVA *Br. Mus.* 8 pl. 588.1-3 (perhaps Odysseus and the Sirens) also belong to the Northampton series; and so does Marangou 1995, 110 and 112.

¹⁴⁰ I owe this reference to John Boardman.

CHRONOLOGICAL LIST OF CHAPTERS OF BOOKS OR ARTICLES THAT DEAL WITH THE CAMPANA DINOI INCLUDING SOME THAT DEAL WITH THE NORTHAMPTON GROUP

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FIGURES

*Figs. 1-8. 'Campana' dinos by the Eight Painter. List A7.
Metropolitan Museum of Art, inv. No. 1971.259; donation D. von Bothmer.*

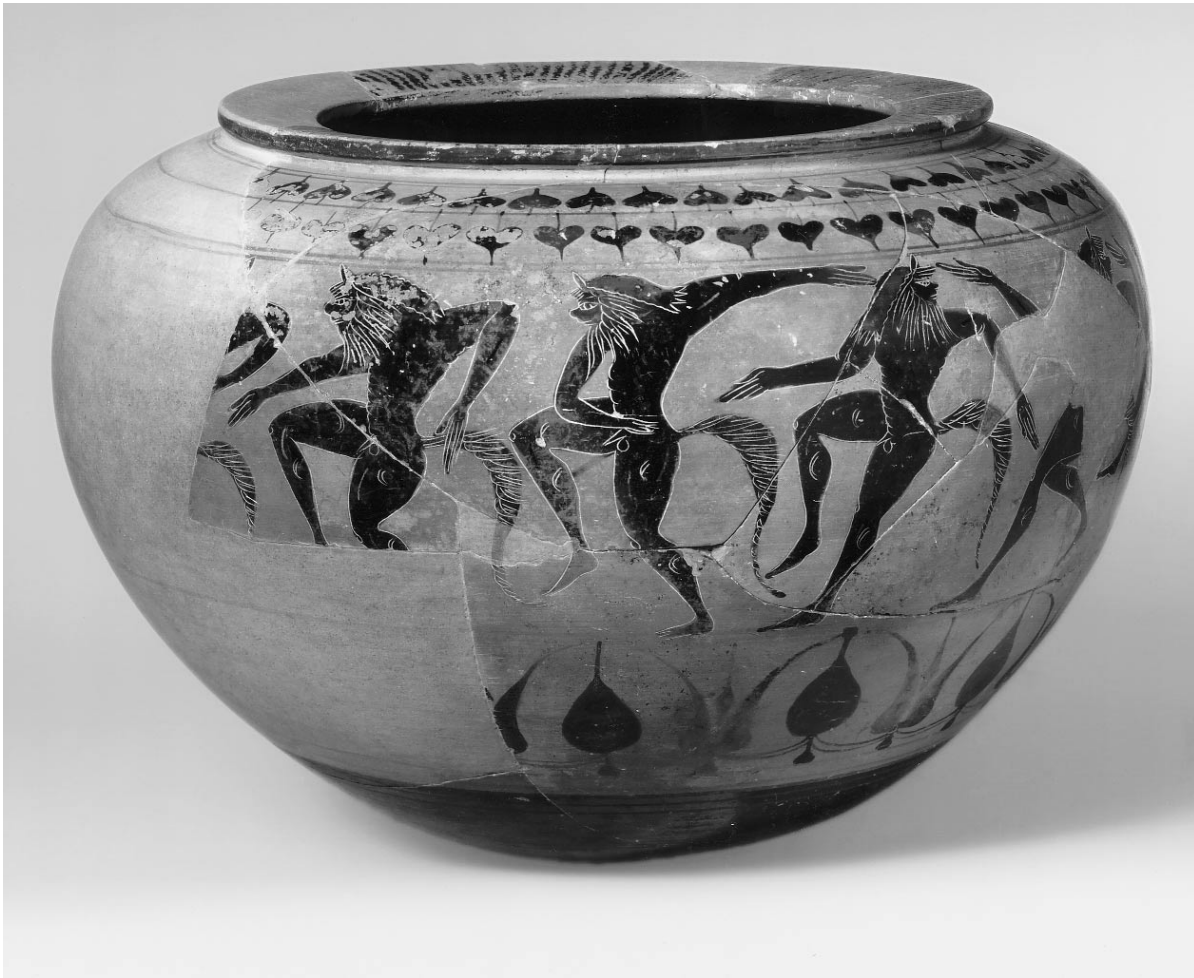
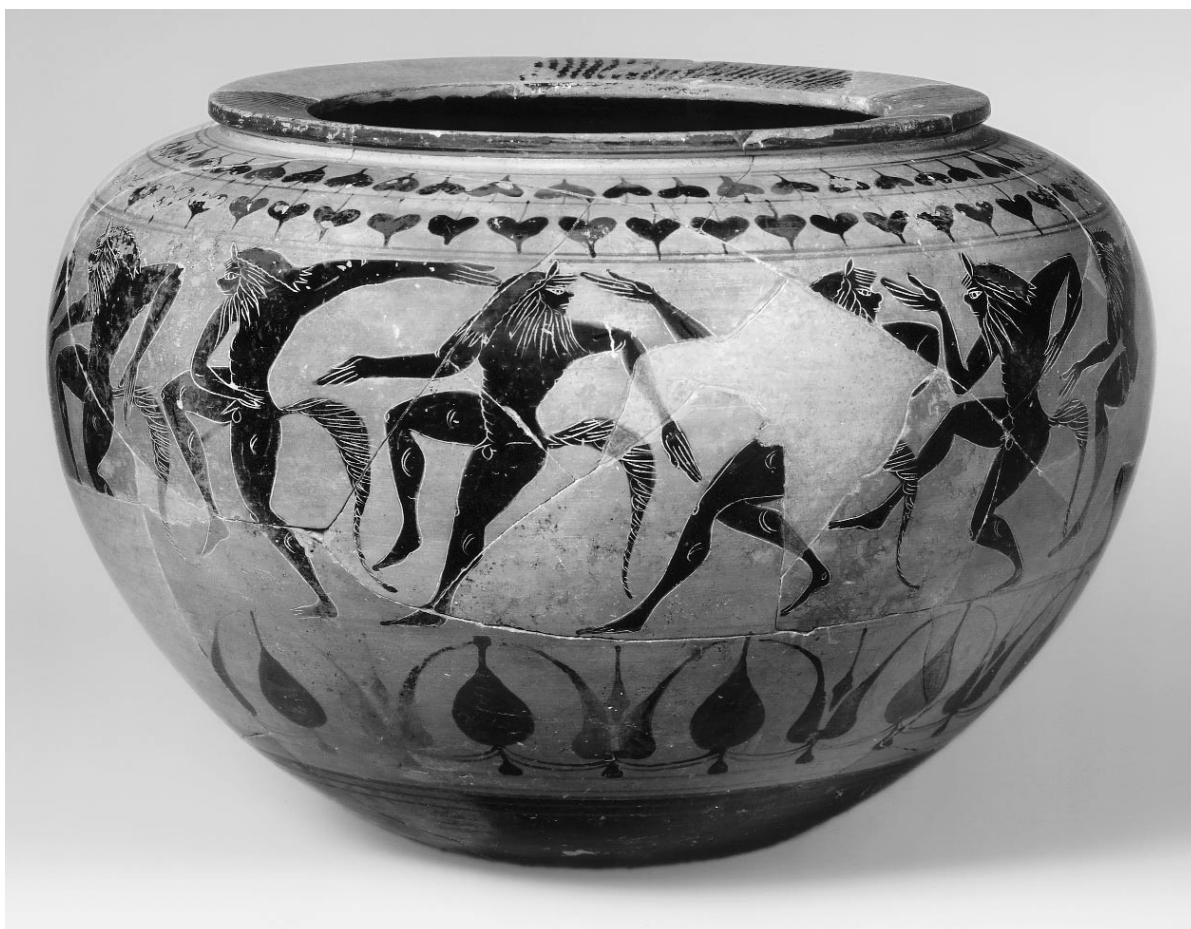


Fig. 1. Satyrs nos 1-5. Photo: courtesy of the Museum.



*Fig. 2. Satyrs 2-7.
Photo: courtesy of
the Museum.*



*Fig. 3. Satyrs 5-8,
hand of satyr 8 and
head of satyr 9.
Photo: courtesy of
the Museum.*



Fig. 4. Satyrs nos 1-3. Photo author.



Fig. 6. Satyrs nos 6-7. Photo author.



Fig. 5. Satyrs nos 3-4. Photo author.

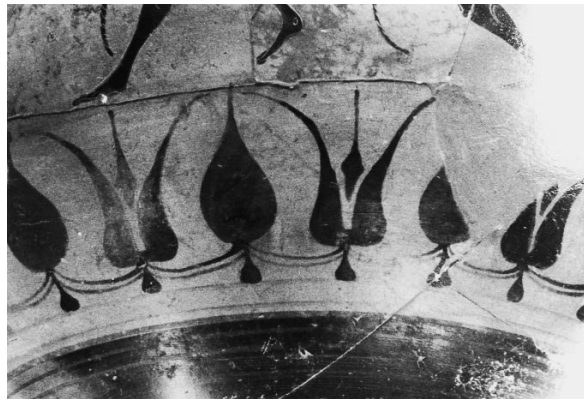


Fig. 7. Lotus-bud frieze. Photo author.

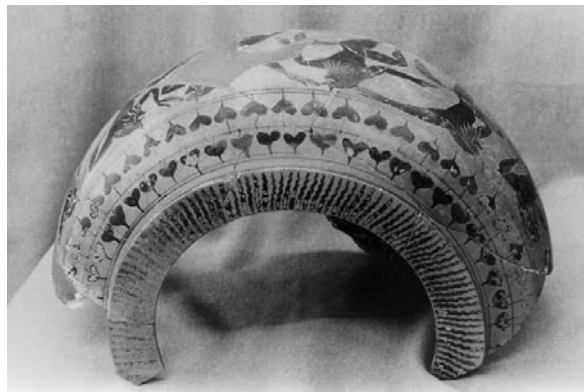


Fig. 8. View from above. Photo author.



Fig. 5a. 'Campana' dinos by the Eight Painter, Louvre E736. List A5. After BCH 1893 p. 29, fig. 1, showing white lines on satyrs and in skirt of girl.

Figs. 9-17. 'Campana' dinos by the Eight Painter. *List A1*. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, inv. 13205.



Fig. 9. Figures 11, 12, 1 and 2.
Photo: Vincent Tosto.



Fig. 11. Figures 3-6.
Photo: Vincent Tosto.



Fig. 10. Figures 1-3. Photo author.

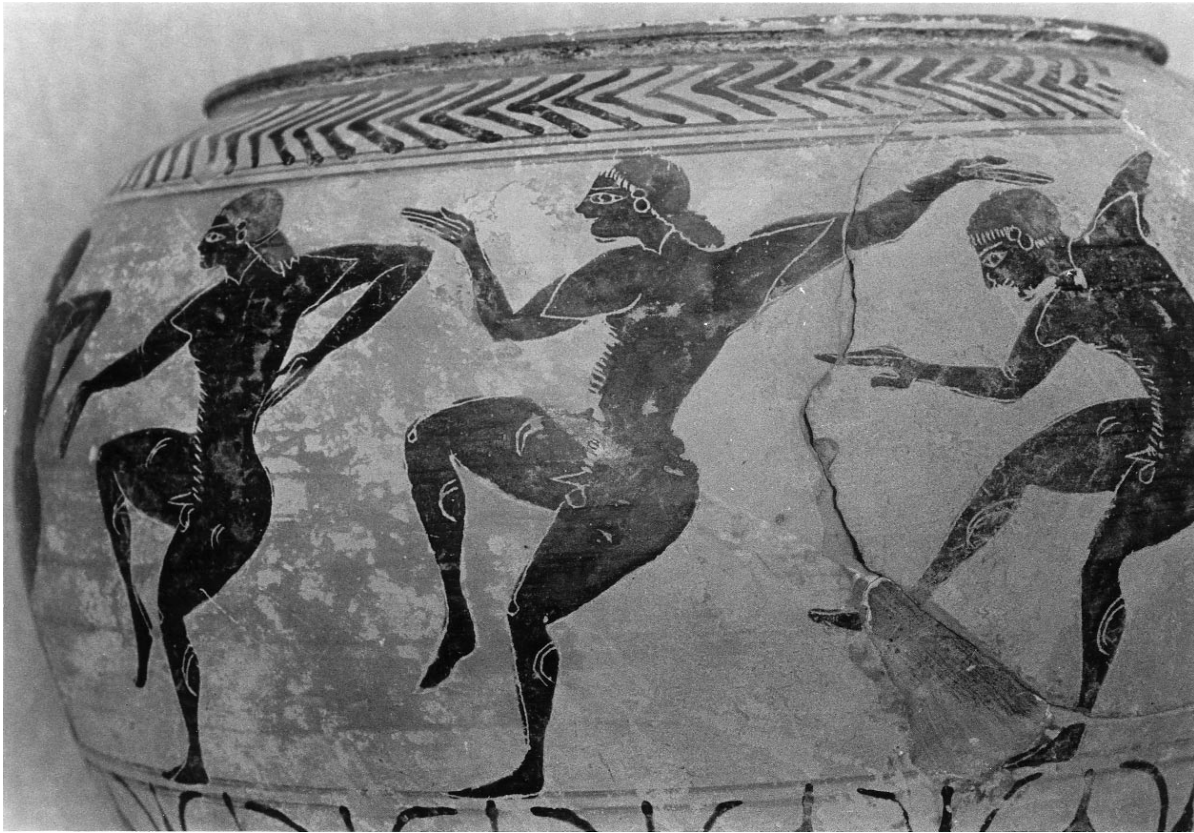


Fig. 12. Figures 6-8. Photo author.



Fig. 13. Figures 7-10.
Photo: Vincent Tosto.



Fig. 14. Figures 9-12.
Photo: Vincent Tosto.

Figs. 15-17. 'Campana' dinos by the Eight Painter. *List A1*. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, inv. 13205.



Fig. 15. Figures 9-10. Photo author.



Fig. 16. Figures 11-12. Photo author.

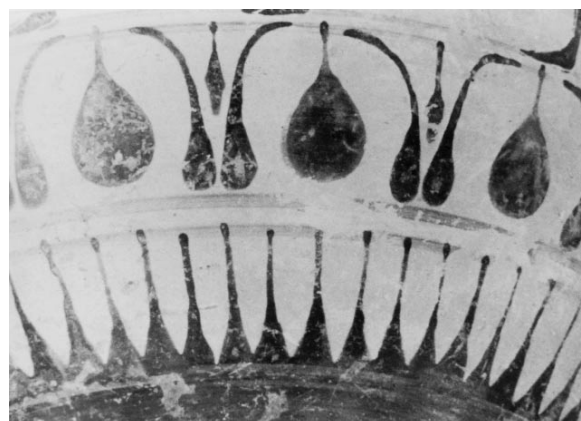


Fig. 17. Lotus-bud frieze. Photo author.



Figs. 18-19.
'Campana' dinos on stand by the Eight Painter.
List A8. Coll. Shelby White, NY.
Photos courtesy Shelby White.

Fig. 18. Riders 4-5.

Fig. 19. Riders 1 and 2.



Fig. 20. 'Campana' dinos by the Eight Painter,
on stand. **List A6.**
Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, 3578.
After Boardman 1998, fig. 490.



Fig. 21. Stand for
dinos. **List C8.**
Rome, Musei
Capitolini, inv. 353.
After CVA Mus.
Cap. 2, 1965, pl.
Italia 1733, 11.

Figs. 22-25. 'Campana' dinos by the Ribbon Painter. **List C9.** Whereabouts unknown.
In 1994 on loan in the J. Paul Getty Museum, inv. L94.AA.11.19. Photos courtesy J. Paul Getty Museum.

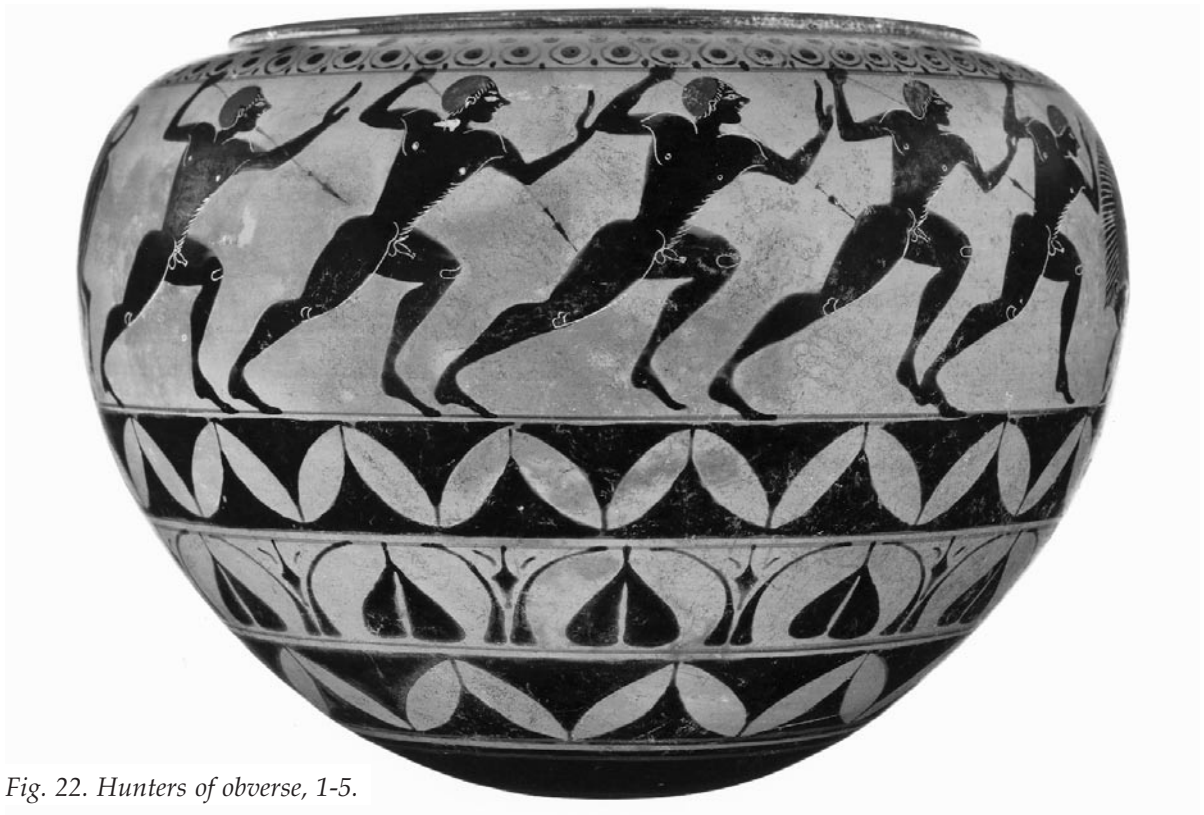


Fig. 22. Hunters of obverse, 1-5.



Fig. 23.
Hunters of obverse 4-5,
boar, hunters of reverse 1-2.

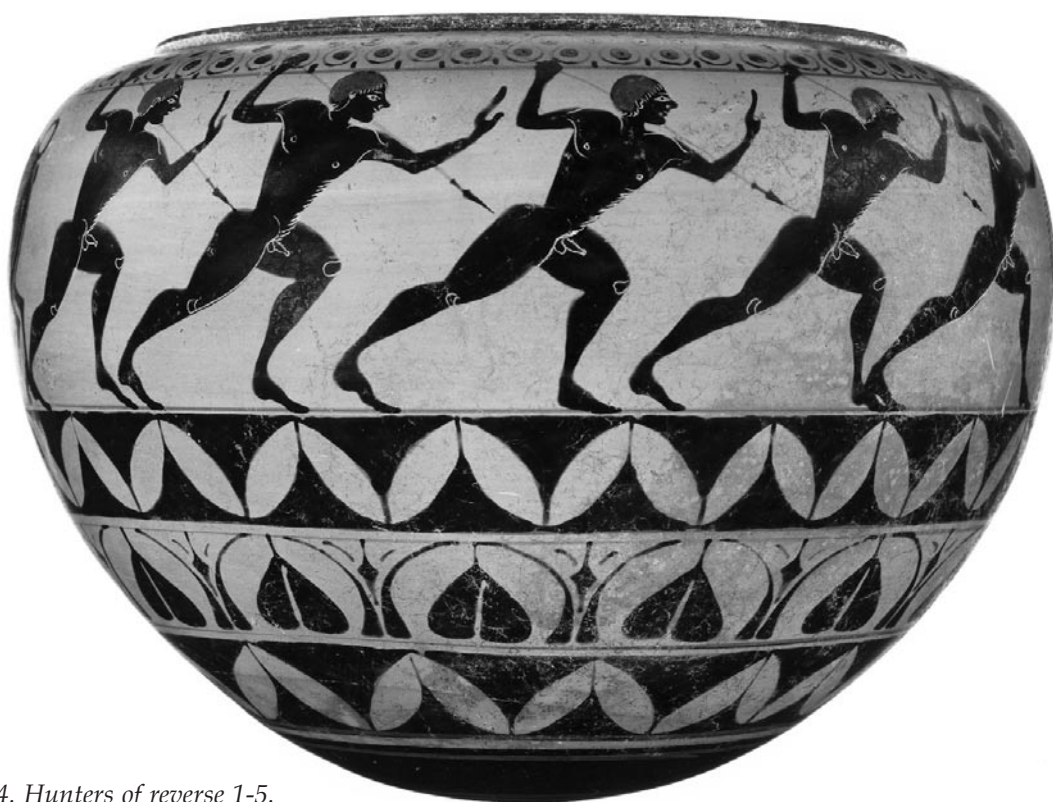


Fig. 24. Hunters of reverse 1-5.

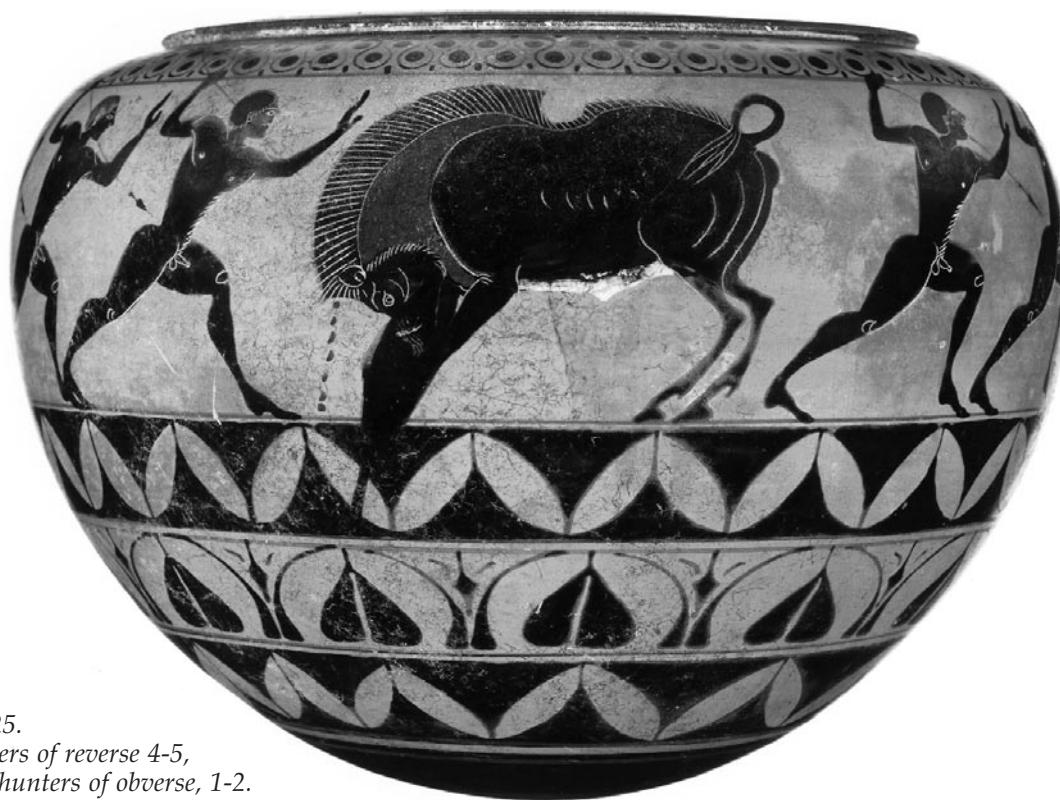


Fig. 25.
Hunters of reverse 4-5,
boar, hunters of obverse, 1-2.

Figs. 26-28. Details of the 'Campana' dinos by the Ribbon Painter (figs. 22-25). **List C9.**
Whereabouts unknown. In 1994 on loan in the J. Paul Getty Museum, inv. L94.AA.11.19.



Fig. 26. Boar of obverse.
Photo courtesy Museum.



Fig. 27. Boar of reverse.
Photo courtesy Museum.



Fig. 28. Hunters of obverse
1-3. Photo author.

Figs. 29-30. 'Campana' dinos by the Ribbon Painter. **List C10.**
 J. Paul Getty Museum inv. 83. AE. 249. Gift of Stefan Hornak. Photos Courtesy Museum.

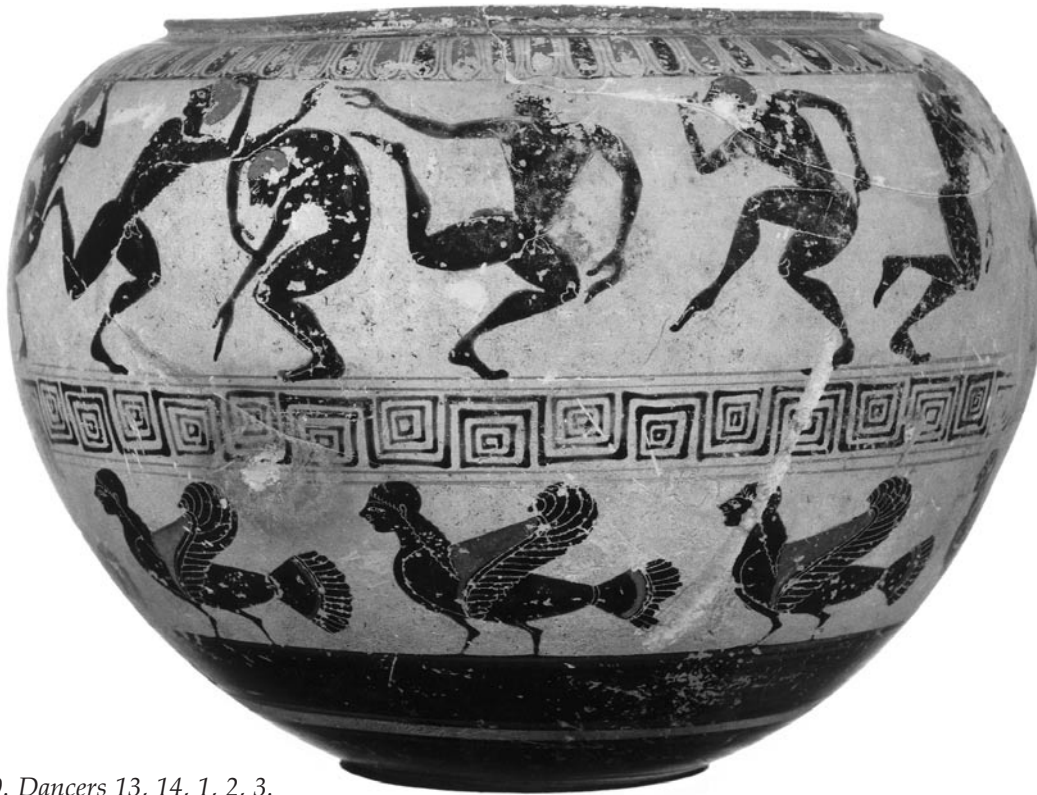


Fig. 29. Dancers 13, 14, 1, 2, 3.

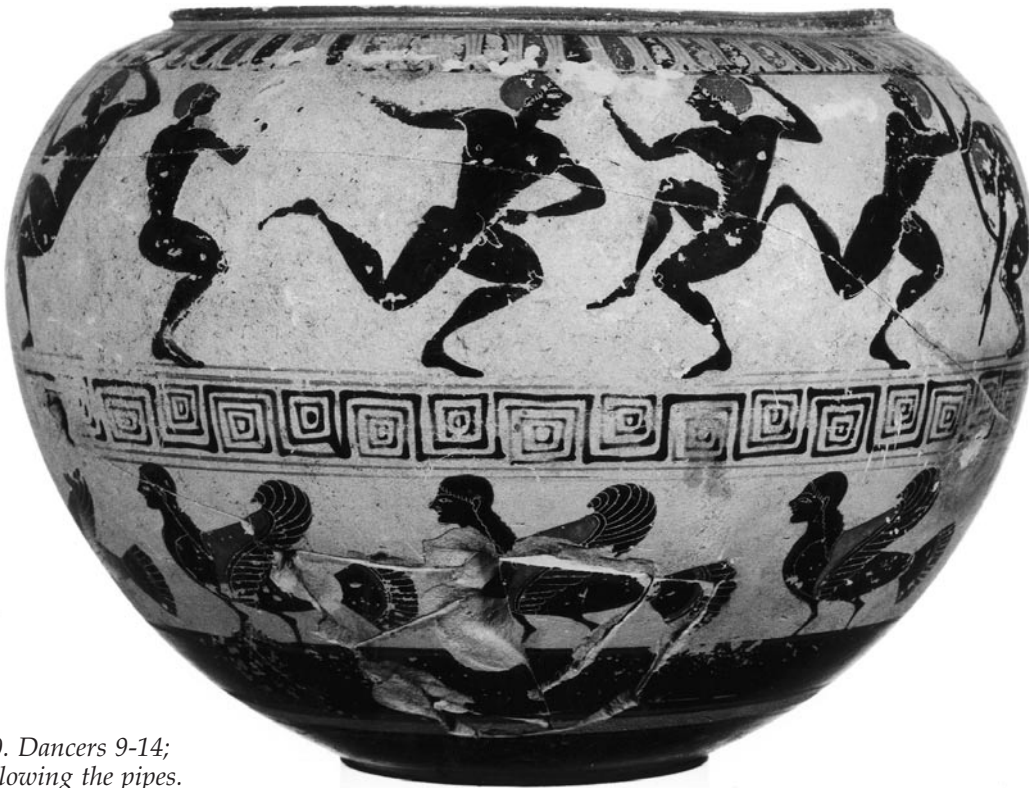


Fig. 30. Dancers 9-14;
 10 is blowing the pipes.



Fig. 31. 'Campana' dinos by the Ribbon Painter. **List C3**. Youths no. 7-10; no 10 (turned to left) blowing the pipes. Florence, Museo Archeologico Etrusco, inv. no 3784. After Cristofani 1995, 186.



Fig. 32. The same, youths 4-7. After Cristofani 1995, 186.



Fig. 33. The same, youth no. 7. Photo author.



Fig. 34. 'Campana' dinos by the Ribbon Painter, in the Villa Giulia (no inv. no). **List C4.** Sirens and bud, tail of cock. Photo author.

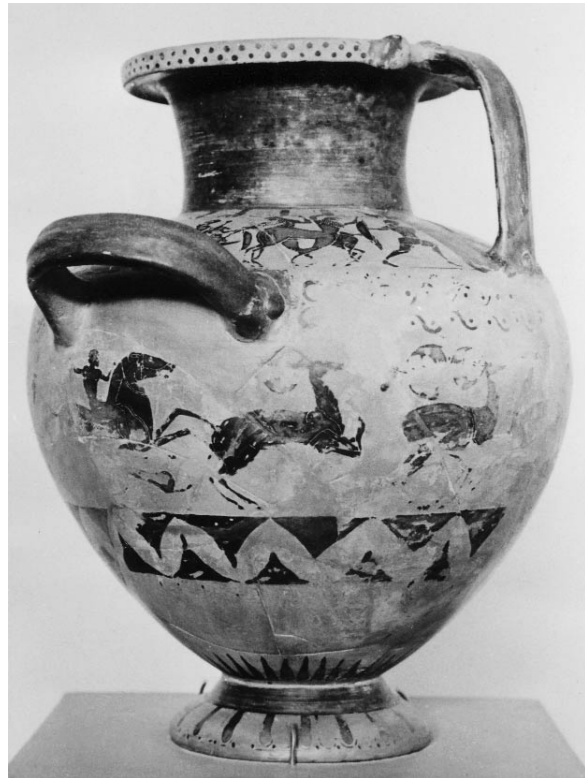


Fig. 35. Hydria by the Ribbon Painter, Bonn Akademisches Kunstmuseum, 2674. **List C12.** Photo courtesy Museum.

Fig. 36. Detail of the hydria of fig. 35. Shoulder scene with killing of Kaineus. Photo courtesy Museum.



Fig. 37-41. Hydria by the Ribbon Painter. **List C11.**
 Villa Giulia Museum, no inv. no. [So-called 'Ricci' hydria].

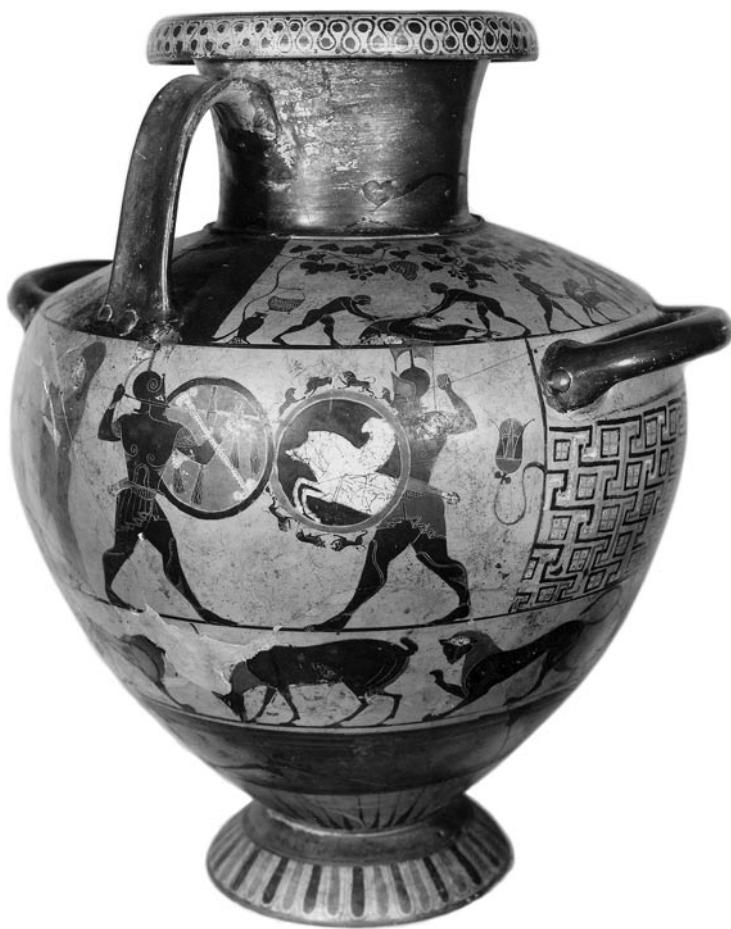


Fig. 37. Photo courtesy Museum.



Fig. 39. Hebe. Photo author.



Fig. 40. Iris. Photo author.



Fig. 38. Detail of A: Hebe takes Heracles to the Olympus.
 Photo author.

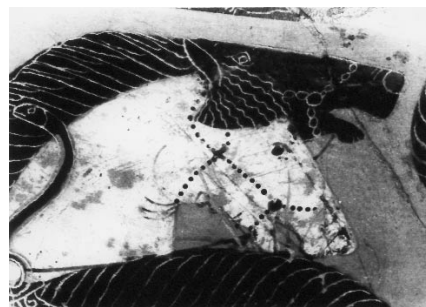


Fig. 41. Two horses of Hebe's chariot.
 Photo author.

Fig. 42-43. 'Campana' dinos by the Ribbon Painter, Louvre E739. *List C2.*



Fig. 42.
Combatants
in full ar-
mour (much
repainting).
After old
museum
photo.

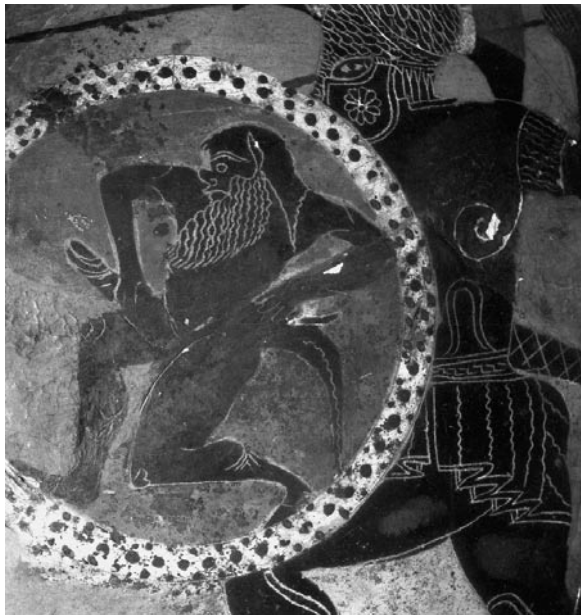
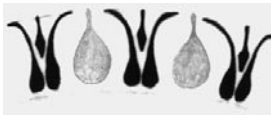
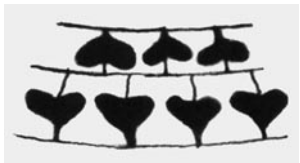


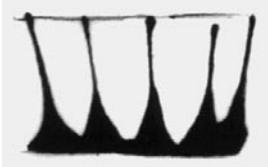

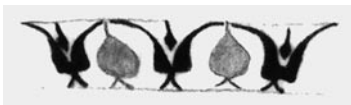


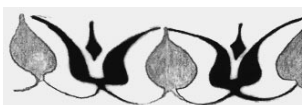





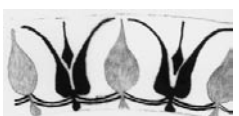

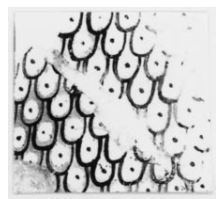
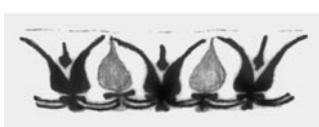
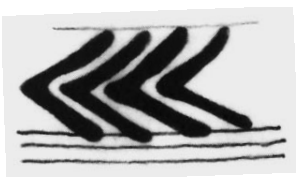
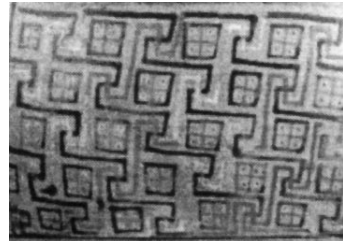
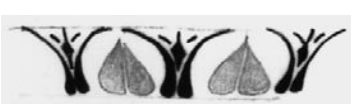
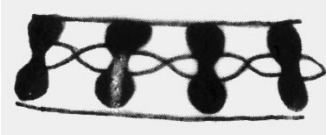




Fig. 43. De-
tail of hoplite
with shield.
Photo author.

Fig. 44.
Siren in
lower frieze,
foot of hop-
lite above.
Photo author.



Fig. 45. The ornament used in the workshop (sketched by Elisabeth den Boer).

A	B	C
 <p>type 1 = A1, A4;</p>	 <p>a = passim;</p>	 <p>f = C9, C11, C12, E3 (cf. C2);</p>
 <p>type 2 = A2;</p>	 <p>b type 1 = passim;</p>	 <p>g = C1 twice, C2 twice, C7, C8 twice, C12;</p>
 <p>type 3 = A3;</p>	 <p>b type 2 = A6 and E1-4;</p>	 <p>h = A6;</p>
 <p>type 4 = A8, B1;</p>	 <p>c type 1 = A2, A5, A6, A8; B1 (wh. bl. r. bl.);</p>	 <p>i = C6;</p>
 <p>type 5 = A3;</p>	 <p>c type 2 = A9, C3, C4, C11, C12, D2, E5;</p>	 <p>j = A7;</p>
 <p>type 6 = A7;</p>	 <p>d = A1, C1, C5, C8;</p>	 <p>k = C8;</p>
 <p>type 7 = A5;</p>	 <p>e = C4.</p>	 <p>l = C11;</p>
 <p>type 8 = C3, C6, C9, E2, E4, F1;</p>	 <p>m = C12.</p>	
 <p>type 9 = C4.</p>		

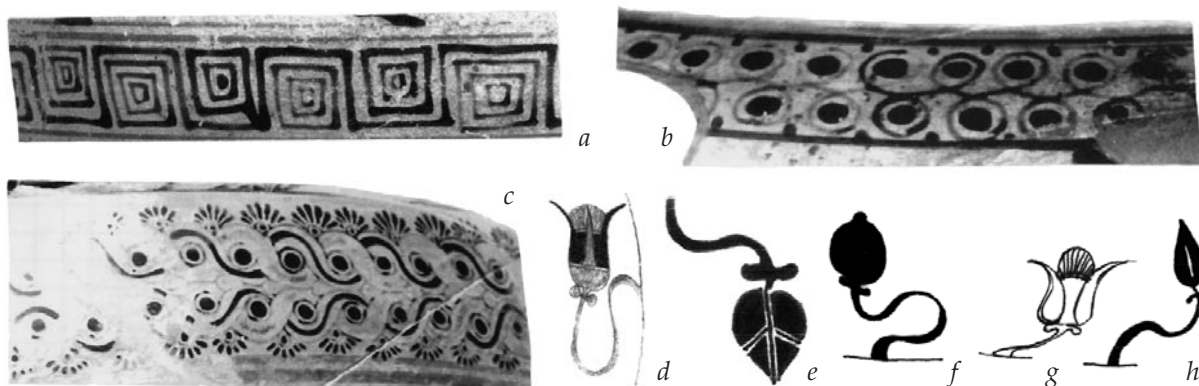


Fig. 46. a = C10; b = C2; c = C12; d = C11; e = C2; f = C4; g = A9; h = D3, E1, E5.



Fig. 47. Amphora by the Eight Painter, Berlin, Staatliche Museen, 5844.

List A9.

After Boardman EGVP, 1998, fig. 351.

a. Obverse: Youths boxing, cauldron on stand.



b. Reverse: Satyr leading colossal ram.

Fig. 48-54. 'Campana' dinos by the Hoof Painter, Würzburg, Martin von Wagner Museum, H5352. **List B1.**



Fig. 48. Hephaestus' return to Olympus. After Boardman 1980, fig. 243.

Fig. 49. Satyrs no. 4-6. After Boardman 2001, fig. 108.



Fig. 53. Satyr 1. After Hölscher 1975, pl. 26.3.

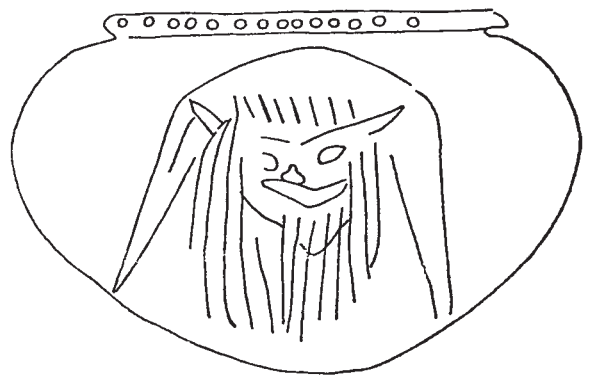


Fig. 54. Frontal face of satyr, drawn in white on cauldron (of fig. 51). After Hölscher 1975, p. 35, fig. 18.

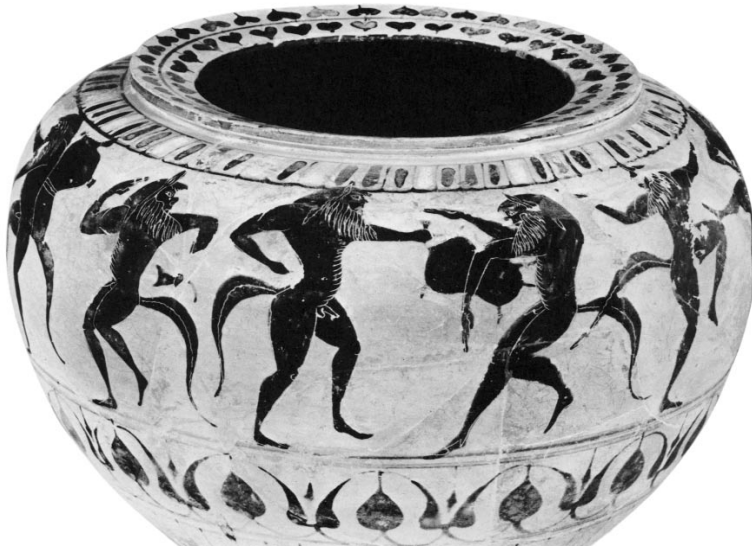


Fig. 50. Satyrs 6-7. After Hölscher 1975, pl. 28.2, detail.



Fig. 51. Satyrs 9-10. After Hölscher 1975, pl. 28.1.



Fig. 52. Satyrs 11, 1 and Dionysus (no. 2). After Hölscher 1975, pl. 27.2 (detail).

Fig. 55-58. 'Campana' dinos by the Eight Painter, Louvre 10.233. *List A2.*



Fig. 55. Return of Hephaestus. After Villard 1949, pl. Va.



Fig. 57. Satyrs 6-8. After Villard 1949, pl. Vb.



Fig. 56. Dionysus and mule. Photo author.



Fig. 58. Satyr 6. Photo author.

Fig. 59-61. Fragments of a 'Campana' dinos by the Hoof Painter,
Allard Pierson Museum 8959. List B2.

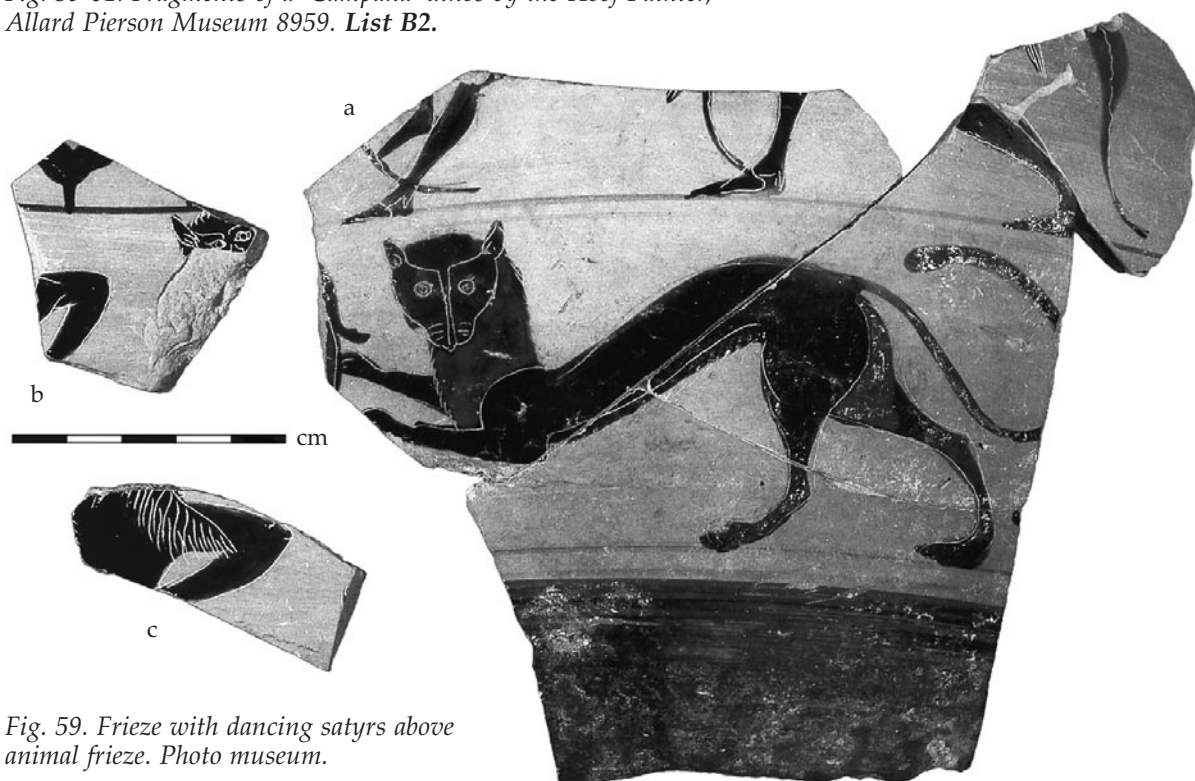


Fig. 59. Frieze with dancing satyrs above
animal frieze. Photo museum.

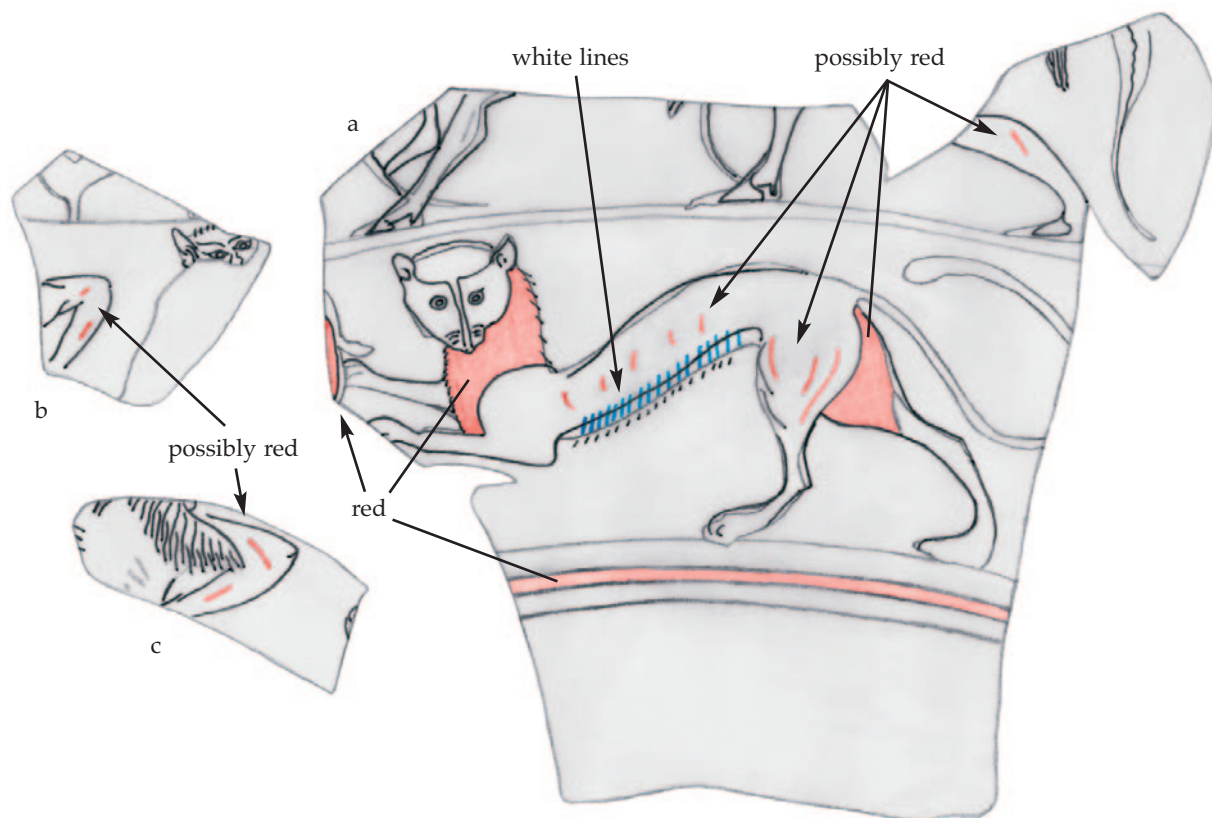


Fig. 60. The same, drawn by Elisabeth den Boer; coloured areas and lines indicated.



Fig. 61a-d. Fragments of fig. 59, details of fig. 60. Photos José van den Berg and author.



Fig. 62.
'Campana' dinos Louvre 10234 by
the Eight Painter. **List A3.** Men
dancing. After Gaultier 1995, pl.
12.2 (France pl. 1544).



Fig. 63a-d. Stand Berlin 3220 possibly by the Hoof Painter. List D6. Komasts dancing. After Cook-Hemelrijk 1963, figs. 13-14.

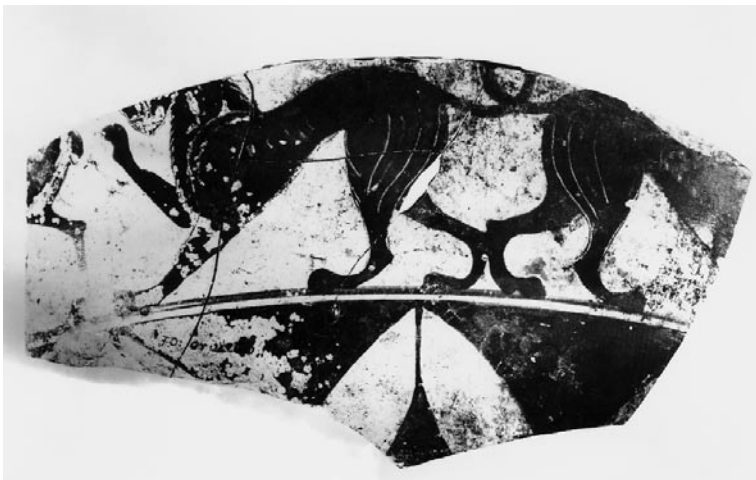


Fig. 64. Fragment of 'Campana' dinos by the Ribbon Painter. List C7. Animals above ribbon. Heidelberg, University inv. no. 157. Photo museum.

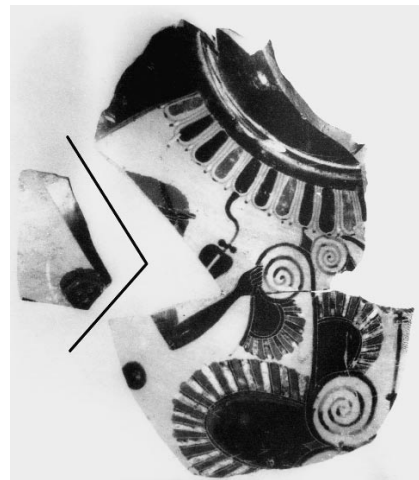


Fig. 65. Some fragments of neck (Northampton) amphora from Panticapaeum. List E5. Satyrs grasping volute-palmette growth. Photo (part) from archive R.M. Cook.



Fig. 66-69. 'Northampton' amphora, Munich 585. **List E1.**

Fig. 66a. Side A. After E. Buschor, *Griechische Vasenmalerei*, 1921, fig. 78.

Fig. 66b. Hermes and Io.
After CVA München, pl. 300, 1.

Fig. 67. Argos screaming.
After CVA München, pl. 300, 2 (no colours shown).

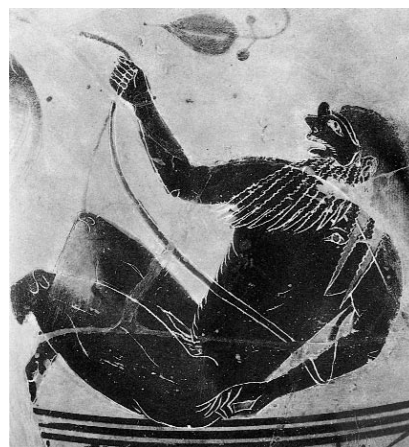




Fig. 68a. Side B. After Buschor, l.c.,
fig. 79.

Fig. 68b. Centaur and fox.
After CVA München, pl. 300, 3.



Fig. 69. Centaur holding on to
roebuck (much of equine back and of
hare underneath lost).
After CVA München, pl. 300, 4.



Fig. 70. Fragment of amphora from Panticapaeum. Pushkin Museum M999. **List D1.** Unexplained: man climbing out of hul, or treading in basket, singing(?); small figure blowing the pipes. Photo: archive R.M. Cook.



Fig. 71. Fragment of amphora from Histria, Bucarest V5736. **List D2.** Satyr holding leash and looking round with distended eyes. After Alexandrescu 1976, fig 8.



Fig. 72a. Amphora Berlin 2932. **List D5.** Satyr grasping the handle of a huge amphora. After Kunisch 1971, pl. 174.3.



Fig. 72b. Same vase as fig. 72a; drawing in JHS 6 (1885) 181, figs. 1 and 2 (the foot of the vase is flatter than in the drawing).





Fig. 73. 'Chanenko' askos, Kiev.
List D3. Dancing komasts.
After Martelli 1981, figs. 5-7.

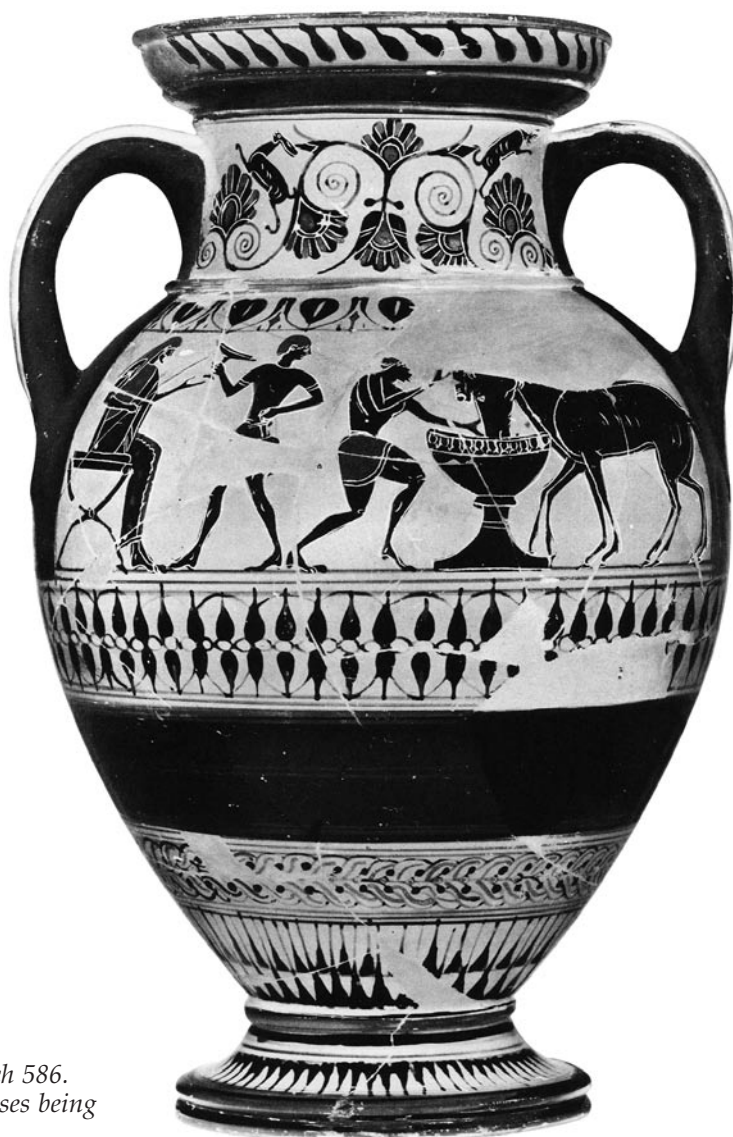


Fig. 74. 'Northampton' amphora, Munich 586.
List E2. Seated master watching his horses being
watered. After CVA München, pl. 297.



Fig. 75-77.
*'Northampton' amphora ex-Castle
 Ashby, now Niarchos collection.
 List E3.*

*Fig. 75. Side B. Triton, palmette-
 volute growth with animals as
 fillers and flanked by pygmies
 riding cranes. After Christie's sale
 catalogue, 2.7.1980, no. 90, side B.*



Fig. 76. Detail of side B. Pygmy on crane.
After Langlotz 1975, pl. 66.2.

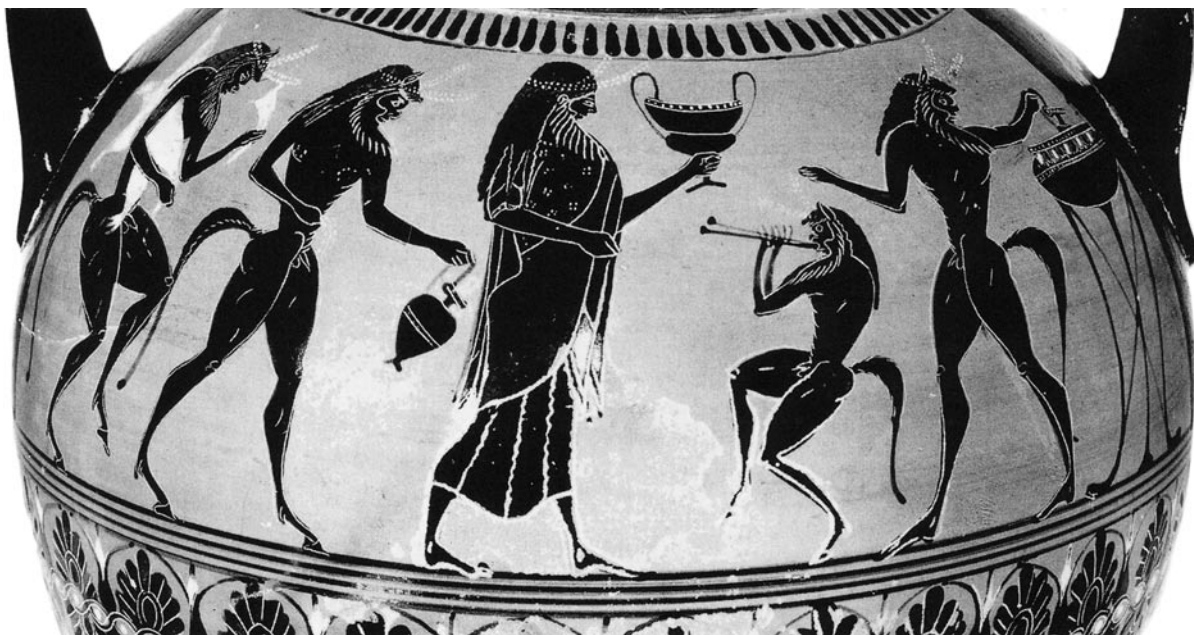


Fig. 77. Side A. Dionysus and his satyrs. After Boardman 1998, fig. 485.2.

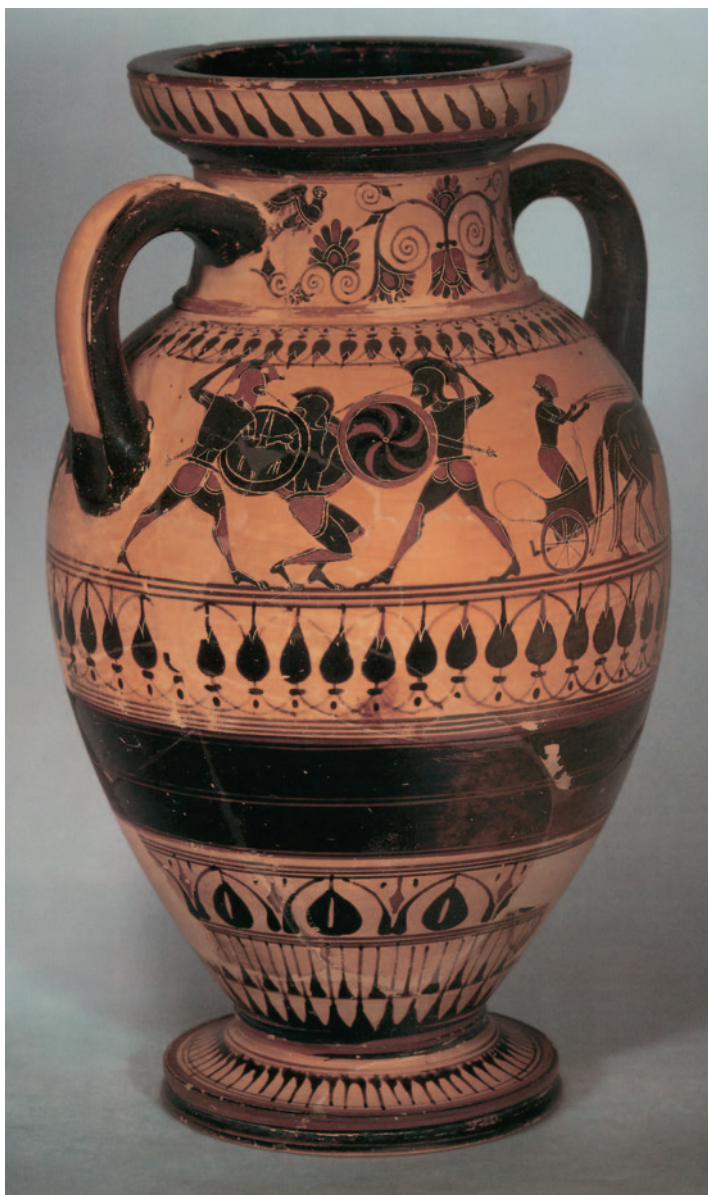


Fig. 78-80.
'Northampton' amphora Würzburg
L131. **List E4.**

Fig. 78. Side A. Combat and chariot.
After Calendar von Zabern 1992.

Fig. 79. Side B: Erotic couples, left-hand
section. Photo archive R.M. Cook.

Fig. 80. Side B: Erotic couples, right-
hand section. Photo archive R.M. Cook.



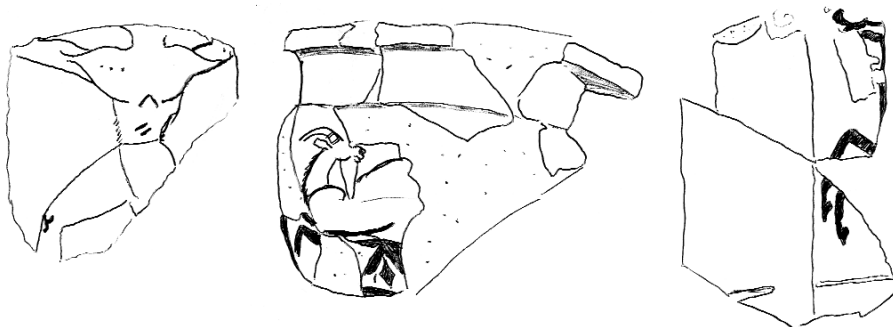


Fig. 81. Fragments of krater from Tariverdi (near Istros). **List F5.** Youth, billy goat, deer.
Sketch Helle Hochscheid after *Il Mar Nero II*.

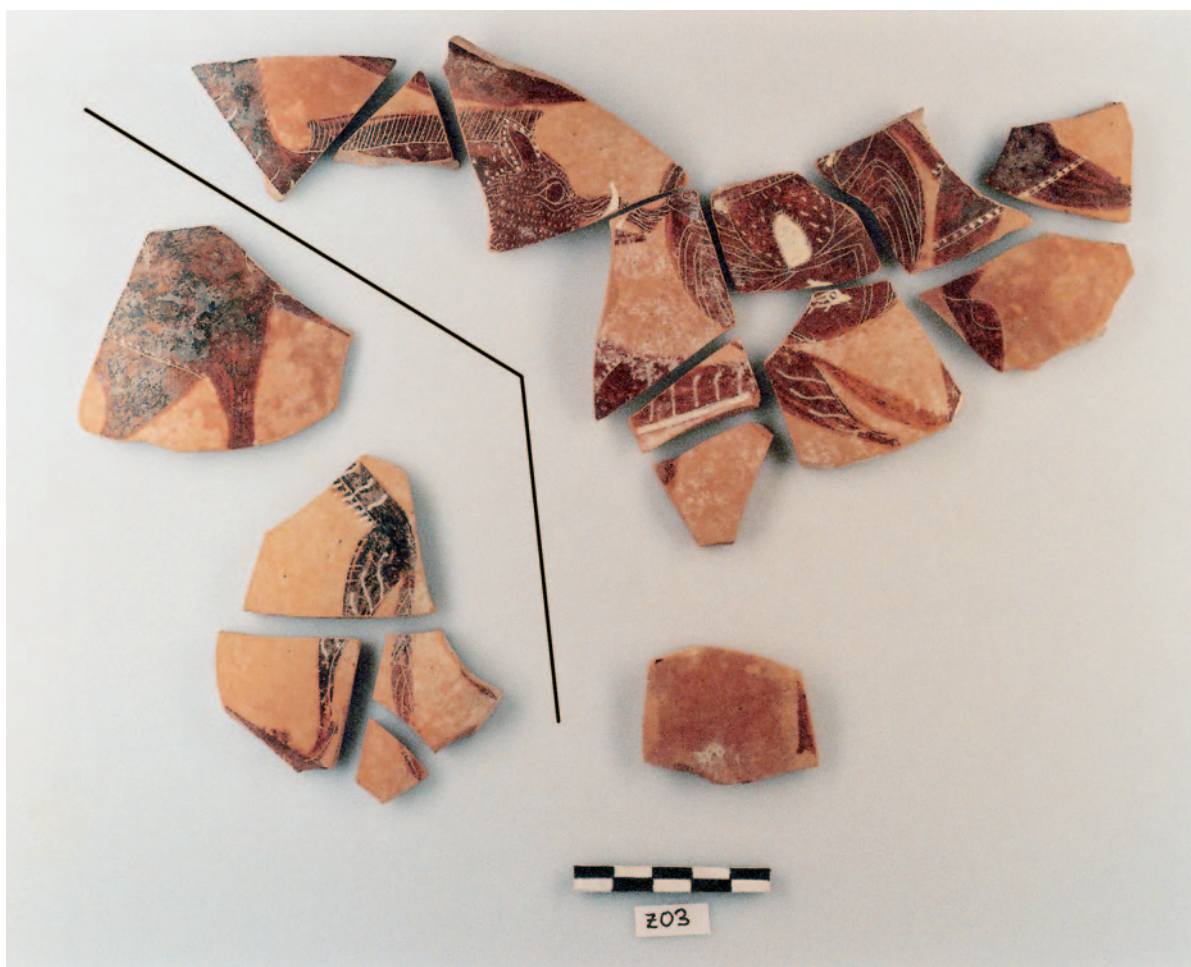


Fig. 82. Fragments of tall amphora from Miletus. **List F3.** Calydonian hunt and more.
Photo and courtesy Prof. Dr. Volkmar von Graeve (F. 03.41/15).